INDIAN MINERAL INDUSTRIES LIMITED

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CALCUTTA 2

a quarterly on Jainology

Jain Journal



JAIN BHAWAN

CALCUTTA

VOL. IV APRIL 1970 NO. 4

Mahavir Jayanti Special Number on
Jaina Miniature Painting

Rupees Two

All contributions, which must be type-written, and correspondence regarding contributions and book-reviews should be addressed to the Editor, Jain Journal, P-25 Kalakar Street, Calcutta-7

For advertisement and subscription please write to the Secretary, Jain Bhawan, P-25 Kalakar Street, Calcutta-7 Subscription for one year Rs 3 00 Foreign Rs 7 00 Single copy Re 1 00

Published by Moti Chand Bhura on behalf of Jain Bhawan from P-25 Kalakar Street and printed by him at The Technical & General Press, 17 Crooked Lane, Calcutta-1

Editor Ganesh Lalwani

Paintings courtesy

Shri J P Goenka

Shri B S Nahar

The Publisher and the Editor record their very sincere thanks to the authors and publishers whose generous cooperation has taken shape in this volume

To Him

Who has shown the path of liberation

Who has destroyed the mountains of *karmas*

And who has known the entire realities

I bow down

In order to acquire those qualities



OURSELVES

The Study of Jaina miniature painting, now known as Western Indian painting, is of very recent origin, and before Dr Coomaraswamy wrote his article on Jaina painting in 1914, a portion from which is reprinted later in this issue, little was known of its existence After the publication of the *Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Part IV, by the same author in 1924, the study of Jaina painting received a great impetus and various scholars, such as Norman Brown, N C Mehta, O C Gangooly, Ajit Ghose, M R Majumdar, Moti Chandra, Sarabhai M Nawab, Muni Jinavijaya and Muni Punyavijaya have greatly contributed to the discovery of new documents and the study of their aesthetics Further research has given us a chronological sequence in the development of Jaina painting and also the distinguishing features of its techniques

The earliest known specimen of this school of painting is a palm-leaf manuscript of *Niśitha Cūrni* dated 1184 V S (1127 A D) Taranath, the Tibetan chronicler, had spoken of an still earlier Ancient Western school, but as we do not have in our possession any specimen

of that school, it is very difficult to comment on it On the basis of available materials, the history of this style of painting runs from the twelfth century to about the end of the sixteenth or the early part of the seventeenth century Thereafter the school continued for some time more, may be in the 18th century, but during this period it came heavily under the influence of the Rajput-Mughal style of painting The palm-leaf period of Western Indian painting ran from its inception in the twelfth century to about the end of the fourteenth century when paper came into use

Most of these miniature paintings depict the lives of the *Jinas*, gods, godesses and saints as contained in such texts as the *Kalpa Sūtra* and the *Kālakācaryakathā* But there are other texts like the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, *Vipāka Sūtra*, *Samgrahani Sūtra* which contain miniature paintings by way of illustration In our limited space we have restricted our reproductions only to the *Kalpa Sūtra* and *Kālakācāryakathā* But to show the continuity of this art we have included in our reproduction two paintings, one from *Sālibhadra Mahāmuni Caupāi* with Rajput-Mughal complex, and another, a portion from an illus trated roll of *Vijñaptipatra*, through which this art has come down to our times

Miniature Painting in Western India*

(12th—17th Century A D)

W Norman Brown

Before the time of the miniature paintings in India of the Rajput and Mughal styles, that is, before the late sixteenth century, there have been found in that country only two styles of miniature painting One of these flourished in Nepal and northern Bengal, with dated specimens starting in the eleventh century[1], the other in Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Rajputana, and is now known to have been existing in the early part of the twelfth century[2] These two schools of painting seem to have had

* The following titles make a fairly complete bibliography of the works on this school of painting

Brown, W N ,	(1)	in *Indian Art and Letters*, pp 16ff , 1929
	(2)	in *Eastern Art*, pp 167-206, 1930
	(3)	in *Parnassus*, pp 34-36, November, 1930
Coomaraswamy, A K ,	(1)	in *Journ Indian Art*, no 127, 1914
	(2)	*Cat Indian Coll Mus Fine Arts*, Boston, pt 4, Jaina paintings and manuscripts, 1924
	(3)	*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp 119-121, 1927
	(4)	in *Bull Mus Fine Arts*, pp 7f , Feb , 1930
	(5)	in *Eastern Art*, pp 236-40, 1930
Gangoly, O C ,	(1)	in *Ostasiatische Zeitschr* , N F 2, 1925
	(2)	in *Quart Journ Andhra Hist Res Soc* , vol 4, pp 86-88
	(3)	in *Indian Art and Letters* N , pp 104-115, 1930
Ghose, Ajit,		in *Artibus Asiae*, pp 187ff and 278ff, 1927
von Glasenapp, H ,		final plate in his *Jainismus*, 1925
Huttemann, W ,		in *Bassler Archiv*, vol 2, p 2, 1913
Mehta, N C ,	(1)	in *Rupam*, 1925
	(2)	in his *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1927
	(3)	*Gujarati painting in the fifteenth century*, The India Society, London, 1913 A discussion of the *Vasantavilasa* paintings in 37 pages, with black and white reproductions of 16 miniatures
	(4)	in *Rupa-Lekha*, no 3, pp 3-9, July, 1929
Nahar, P , & Ghose, K ,		*Epitome of Jainism*, 1927
Shah, C J ,		*Jainism in North India*, pls 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 14, 1932.

The numbers in parentheses in the following footnotes refer to the corresponding numbers as above

[1] See Coomaraswamy (3), pp 115, 146

[2] Brown (1)

no direct relationship with each other, except as they both derive from an older common Indian tradition That of Eastern India exists chiefly in Buddhist books , that of Western India mainly in Svetambara Jaina manuscripts, with a few interesting examples from its second period reported in secular and Hindu texts The earliest known specimens, as well as the greatest number, appear among the Svetambara Jainas, and for this reason the style has been variously called "Jaina" or "Svetambara Jaina", while one scholar has advocated the name "Gujarat"[3] If a name based upon the apparent community of origin is desired, then "Svetambara" would seem to be the choice , for the style does not appear among the Digambara Jainas and therefore the designation "Jaina" would be too inclusive But we cannot be absolutely certain that the style originated among the Svetambara—although in the following pages I shall indicate reasons for thinking it did—and it might therefore be better to adopt a name after the geographical provenience of the style and call it "Western Indian", to which I can see no possible objection

This "Western Indan" school is one of great importance in the history of Indian painting For one thing it contains all the western Indian painting, whether of large or small dimensions, known to exist over a period of some centuries, continuing the sequence of the frescoes at Ajanta, Bagh, and Elura For another it is the parent, on the Indian side, that in union with the Persian schools, on the other side, gave birth to the Rajput and Mughal styles[4], so prolifically cultivated and so well known Important as this Western Indian miniature art is, and in spite of the few but easily accessible works that have been published on it, scholars are still found who seem unaware that it exists As lately as in 1929, M E Blochet, of the Oriental department of the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, said " the oldest Hindu miniatures known do not go back beyond the second half of the sixteenth century "[5]

One reason for ignorance may be the comparative paucity of specimens in Europe or even in India, except in the Jaina *bhandāras* where indeed the miniatures are numerous A few exist in England, appearing on Jaina manuscripts at the British Museum, the India Office library, the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bodleian library, the Cambridge University library , in Germany at the Staats Bibliothek and the Museum fur Volkerkunde, both in Berlin , in Austria at the library of the University of Vienna , and in France, I believe, at the library of the University of Strasbourg It is possible also that some

[3] Brown (1), (2) , Coomaraswamy (2), (3) , Ghose, Mehta (2)

[4] Cf Stchoukine, *La peinture indienne a l'epoque des grands Moghols*, 1928

[5] Blochet, E , *Musalman paining*, xiith-xviith century, p 52, London, 1929

exist in Italy at Florence. In the United, States examples appear notably at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, where there is the best assemblage outside of Jaina libraries in India[6], at the Free Gallery of Art in Washington, the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and the Art Museum in Detroit There are also many privately owned paintings Thus, it is evident that the materials, though not abundant in Western lands, are sufficient to remove any excuse for so sweeping a statement as that of M Blochet, and the importance of the style is such that no account of painting in India can nowadays afford to ignore it

The literature on the subject is not large The first discussion was an account by Huttemann of the *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscript owned by the Museum fur Volkerkunde in Berlin, published in 1913, followed a year later by an article by Coomaraswamy, and a description in book form in 1924 of the specimens owned by that time by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston N C Mehta published examples from a secular manuscript in 1925 and 1927 , and in 1928 (although dated 1927) Ajit Ghose published two important articles on the style of this art In 1929 I myself published the oldest specimens of this style so far discovered, and in 1930 Doctor Coomaraswamy published a manuscript newly acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and I another A few other references of articles have appeared[7]

No one but myself has yet endeavored to outline, even tentatively, the history of this art, and even I have done so only briefly , but I feel that, with the materials now accessible in the combined articles published, manuscripts available but not published, and the photographs I made during the winter of 1928-29 in Jaina *bhandāras*, it is possible to sketch in general lines and illustrate the course of development of the art, provisionally offering certain stages in the history

The time limitations of this medieval Western Indian miniature painting are from the beginning of the style—our earliest dated examples come from Vikrama Samvat 1184 (A D 1127)—to about the end of the sixteenth century or early part of the seventeenth, by which time the significant history of the style is over Examples follow in the late seventeenth century, possibly even in the eighteenth, but western India in general, the Svetambara Jainas included, now uses styles seriously affected by the Rajput-Mughal complex, finally succumbing to the latter At this time come the second and third periods of Jaina painting, as

[6] For descriptions of specimens acquired up to 1924, see Coomaraswamy (2)

[7] For titles by these authors, see bibliography above

recognized by Mr Ghose[8], which I should be inclined to call "Svetambara Rajput" My treatment here concerns only the period which he designates as the first, and it is within that period, extending roughly over about five centuries, that I wish briefly to indicate a development

This style of miniature painting falls naturally into two periods, distinguished externally by the nature of the surface on which the painting is done, internally by the subject matter of the paintings and the character of the execution During the first of these two periods the examples all appear on palm-leaf masnucripts , during the second on paper manuscripts, or on separate paper sheets or pieces of cotton as pictures independent of manuscripts, or on the prepared surface of manuscript covers, for which see Mr Ghose's account The palm-leaf period runs from the time of our first dated specimens (A D 1127) to about the end of the fourteenth century , the paper period from the end of the fourteenth centuty to about the beginning or middle of the seventeenth century The year 1400 might be taken as a convenient date to mark the line of division, although the two materials were doubtless used side by side for some years, and any precise date is bound to be inaccurate Possibly the period of transition ran from about 1350 to 1400 or a little later

During both these periods the paintings have many common features The method of manufacturing the manuscript seems to have varied but slightly Two persons were employed, the copyist of the text and the artist of the paintings On the manuscript folios the copyist marked off rectangular spaces (*ālekhyasthāna*) for the illustrations before he wrote down the text this fact is clear from the minute examination of pages which show the writing running over the lines that bound the panels for the pictures Sometimes he wrote in the margins legends to guide the artist, which the artist usually followed but not always When the copyist had finished his work, he turned over the manuscript to the artist, or sometimes did not, in which case the panels remained empty[9]

In both periods the drawing is of great importance and is highly competent, although the art as a whole is in most of the surviving later examples one of craftsmanship and copying of previously constructed compositions rather than individual invention As Mr Ghose points out, the art is one with high decorative quality, both in design and colour scheme, although I may add that this is less true in the palm-leaf

[8] Ghose, Coomaraswamy (2)

[9] Cf Coomaraswamy (2), Ghose

period than in the paper The colours contrast strongly and richly The art always remains formal, there is seldom an attempt at portraiture, it is an art of idealized types One of the most striking of its external characteristics is the angular appearance of faces, both male and female, and with this goes a strange treatment of the eyes In the older period faces are always represented in one of only two views, either that from the full front or that from about two-thirds, something just more than profile In the latter case the farther eye is always drawn in full so that it protrudes beyond the line of the cheek into space Mr Ghose explains this phenomenon as due to the artist's desire to show that he was not painting something flat, but rather that his aim was plastic This suggestion, ingenious as it is, seems to me to imply more sophistication than the artist is likely to have had and to be less probable than the concrete explanation I have offered elsewhere[10], and will repeat here In Svetambara temples now in use all important images bear, over the eyes carved in the stone, additional glass eyes which are oval like eyes and are possiblly added to give brilliance These glass eyes extend before the natural eyes of the image to a distance of a half inch or more, and when the image is viewed from an angle the farther point protrudes into space beyond the line of the cheek, somewhat as do spectacles when a face is seen from an angle, giving precisely the result that appears in the miniature paintings Since the earliest known specimens of this style of miniature painting appear in Jaina manuscripts and are chiefly illustrations of *Jinas*, goddesses and distinguished monks, such as are or might be figured sculpturally in Svetambara temples, I have suggested that the western Indian style may have been hieratic in its inception, originating in the Jaina milieu, and that the artists merely copied the style of temple images It is difficult to illustrate the close similarity in appearance between the eyes of a Jaina image and those of our paintings, for a three quarters photograph of a *Tirthankara* in the rear of a dark temple cell is practically impossible for one who like myself is ceremonially ineligible to enter the cell Yet the similarity is striking

In comment upon my suggestion Doctor Coomaraswamy reminds us that there are secular and Vaisnava miniatures from Western Indian manuscripts that show the same peculiarity, and that it also exists in a less exaggerated form in the ceiling frescoes of the porch of the Kailasanatha (Hindu) temple at Elura[11] The evidence of the miniatures he mentions does not seem important, for they are all on paper and are some centuries later than the oldest palm-leaf examples The Elura

[10] Brown (1),
[11] Coomaraswamy (4)

paintings, datable perhaps in the tenth or eleventh century, may have a bearing, although the protrusion is not prominent there, perhaps the artist was representing nothing more than the eyelashes The phenomenon, as far as I am aware, does not appear in the paintings at Ajanta, Bagh, Sittanavasal, the Jaina (Digambara) caves at Elura, and the Digambara structural temple at Conjeevaram, where there are two styles of ceiling painting one painted on top of the other palimpsest fashion, of which the second is the only one so far reported in print[12] The Digambara Jainas do not ornament their images with the additional glass eyes, and hence would have no established temple type to imitate, as did the Svetambaras In a note to me Doctor Coomaraswamy calls my attention to a remark by Otto Fischer (*Die Kunst Indiens*, p 59) 'uber den umrissvorspringende Auge" in the Burmese paintings at Pagan I cannot presume to estimate the significance of the phenomenon there, I can only point out the difficulty of relating it to that in Western India There is a wide extent of territory between the two places, and so far there have been reported in the geographically intervening styles of painting (the Pala style in Bengal and the style in Orissa) no instances of the protruding eye, which might serve as connecting links between the styles of Gujarat and Pagan It seems more likely that the origin of the phenomenon is in each place independent of the origin in the other Last of all there has come to light a small engraved bronze vessel which shows a tendency in some figures, but not all, toward the protruding eye, most of them exhibiting only the protruding eyelash This vessel Doctor Coomaraswamy (*Ostasiatische Zeitschr* N F 6, Heft 5, 1930) considers on stylistic grounds to come from Western India and to be of late or immediately post-Gupta times, but it seems to me rather to come from Central Asia[13] In style it shows some little similarity to Western Indian painting, but like so many other fine pieces it has no documentation and is not satisfactory to use as evidence in determining the origin of the protruding eye motif It still seems to me, therefore, that this phenomenon is best explained as having its origin in the copying of images with their additional glass eyes as found in Svetambara temples

For we may go still further, and say that the angular features of the human face as drawn by Svetambara Jaina artists, and following them secular and Hindu artists in Western India, do not result from a desire to simplify the execution, as Mr Ghose suggests, but rather from direct copying of medieval Jaina *Tirthankara* images, which have faces that look exactly like those of the *Tirthankaras* and other unbearded

[12] Coomaraswamy (3), p 119

[13] See in the *Pennsylvania Mus Bull*, vol 27, no 148, p 138, April, 1932

figures in the miniature paintings So, too, do the faces of modern images and of the wood carvings that appear in Svetambara temples and are probably in a tradition at least as old as medieval times Last of all, many of the figures, especially of *Jinas*, goddesses, gods, and monks, appear in cells or temple-like pavilions, as though the originators of the style had copied the setting with he figure The whole style seems, in short, to have originated in Svetambara temples, where the painting art has passed away, but some of its characteristics still continue in sculpture

Palm-leaf Period (1127, or earlier, to about 1400)

The earliest known specimens of Western Indian miniatures are two paintings found in a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Jñāta Sūtra* and next three *Aṅgas* of the Svetambara canon with commentary by Abhayadeva now in the Nagin Das (also called Santinatha Temple) *Bhandāra* of the Svetambara Jainas at Cambay These are dated Vikrama Samvat 1184 (A D 1127)[14] Following these are two paintings of Hemacandra and his celebrated patron, the famous king Kumarapala, found in a palm-leaf manuscript of Hemacandra's *Mahāviracaritra* (not Bhadrabahu's *Kalpa Sūtra*, as has sometimes been stated) at Patan, dated Vikrama Samvat 1294 (A D 1237)[15] After these may come two other miniatures from Cambay The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, owns most of a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Sāvagapadikammanasuttacunni* (also called *Samaṇ'ovāsagapadikammanasuttacunni*) containing six miniatures, some badly rubbed, dated Vikrama Samvat 1317 (A D 1260), coming from near Udaipur in Mewar, Rajputana[16] Other palm-leaf miniatures

[14] Box 6, bundle 2, see Brown (1), the first manuscript is listed in Peterson, *Detailed report of operations in search of Sanskrit Mss in the Bombay Circle*, part I (extra number *Journ. Bombay Branch Roy Asiatic Soc*, 1883), Appendix, p 35 In the same library in box 18, bundle 1, is the second manuscript, which is of Hemacandra's *Neminathacaritra, Parva* 8 of the *Trisastisalakapurusacaritra*, containing two paintings, and said to have been copied in Vikrama Samvat 1198 (A D 1141), see Brown (1) Although Hemacandra was active at that time, it is not likely that this date is correct Hemacandra wrote the *Trisastisalakapurusacaritra* at the request of King Kumarapala, according to the *prasasti* of the work, and Kumarapala did not ascend the throne until Vikrama Samvat 1199 The date is probably an error, perhaps it should be Vikrama Samvat 1298 (A D 1242), which would conform to the stylistic qualities of the miniatures as well as the demands of literary history

[15] See Nahar and Ghose also the learned Muni Caturvijaya's edition of the *Moharajaparajaya* of Yasapala (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No 9, 1918), frontispiece, and Shah, pl 8

[16] Coomaraswamy (4), (5)

are two from a manuscript of the *Kalpa Sūtra* and a version of the *Kālakācāryakathā* in the Sanghavike-Padaka Bhandar at Patan, dated Vikrama Samvat 1335 (A D 1278), two from a manuscript of the *Kalpa Sūtra* and a version of the *Kālakācāryakathā* in the Sanghaka Bhandar at Patan dated Samvat 1336 (A D 1279)[17] Many other palm-leaf miniaturs exist in manuscripts both at Cambay and Patan, and probably in other libraries which I have not seen, as those at Jaisalmir Just recently a number of miniatures have been published in colour from a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, illustrating traditional scenes heretofore known only in the paper manuscripts[18]

An examination of the miniatures of this period will show that the subjects of the paintings are as follows *Jinas* (that is, *Tirthankaras*, "Saviors"), goddesses, gods, monks, patrons (male and female) of the manuscripts, a king, symbols This is a limited list of subjects So, too, the attitude or poses of these subjects are limited, being only three One shows with bilateral symmetry a cross-legged figure with face directed squarely to the front, and is confined to representations of the *Tirthankaras* , a second is a standing pose with face turned to something less than full profile and usually with ankle and hip joints bent , the third is an easy seated pose with the face again turned to something less than full profile The second and third poses are used with all subjects except *Tirthankaras* The full front view used with *Tirthankaras* is the one possible view of a *Tirthankara* image as it sits at the rear of a cell in a modern Svetambara temple (hence my inability to get a photograph to show the effect of the protruding glass eyes mentioned above) Bodies have broad shoulders and narrow waists, as in sculpture from early times in India With both men and women the breasts are full , in the female both breasts are drawn in, in the male only the farther The poses of the torso are reminiscent of the bent figures of sculpture and point to a tradition anterior to our earliest preserved specimens, during which these conventionalized types were adopted and adapted to painting Similarly, the dress, ornamentation, marks on the *Jinas*, the attributes of attendant figures, and the very compositions (as, for example, the two elephants pouring water over a *Jina*) are of ancient Indian lineage

Although the types in these paintings are of great plastic antiquity and constitute the culmination of a long development, the painting itself is "primitive" It is flat lacks depth, and has a narrowly restricted palette, using only a brick-red, close to vermilion, yellow, blue, white,

[17] Shah, pls 1, 2, 5, 6, 14

[18] See references in footnotes 15, 17

and rarely a green The reproduction in Shah's work cited above indicate that gold is used The art is at a far remove from that of Ajanta or Bagh, as though it were a folk art converted to the purposes of religion, on which point Mr Ghose writes pertinently (loc cit) The great merit of the art is the vigor of its drawing, the nervous force of its line, its high decorative quality

The background in these early miniatures is usually a brick-red, close to vermilion This characteristic persists throughout the entire history of the art, although in the paper period two kinds of red are employed for the background in different manuscripts, the old brick-red or vermilion and a red containing more purple, and the red is often displaced in whole or in part by blue

In some of the paintings the drapery, especially that of the female figures, looks like a representation of Gujarat *patola* work, a patterned silk textile In the paintings executed in Gujarat the female figures wear closed bodices —it takes a careful examination to determine this in the case of the Cambay miniatures—, in those from Mewar they wear bodices open in the front[19] Here possibly are depicted local peculiarities of costume There are also variations in the treatment of the monks' drapery Hemacandra has the right shoulder bare , on the other hand, the monks in the Patan manuscript of 1278 A D are covered to the neck, and the monk in the Patan manuscript of 1287 A D seems to have the right shoulder bare but the arm covered There seems to be convention that one figure should not be placed before another (cf in *Journ Roy Asiatic Soc* , 1925, p 188), and this is observed in both the palm-leaf and paper periods, except as an end of drapery or a foot of one figure comes before some part of another figure

In the margin of the palm leaf opposite the panels there sometimes appear thumb-nail sketches of the compositions done with black ink, and occasionally the titles appear beside the completed paintings

The miniatures of the palm-leaf period are executed with wider stroke, less complicated composition, and fewer details than are those of the paper period The brushes used seem to have been heavier than some of those employed later, making them better suited to the surface on which the earlier paintings appear , for the palm leaf is less adapted to fine and delicate workmanship than is paper

[19] Coomaraswamy (4)

Paper Period (about 1400, or earlier, to about 1650)

The date at which paper came into use in Western India is not precisely ascertainable I have seen a Svetambara paper manuscript with illustrations dated Vikrama Samvat 1204 (A D 1147), and I had tentatively accepted the date inspite of some misgivings[20] But there can be no doubt that the date is false as the learned Acarya Sri Vijaya Indra Suri has clearly pointed out to me in a letter One of the texts mentioned in this manuscript was not composed until Vikrama Samvat 1364 (A D 1307), and the date of the manuscript was forged possibly to associate it with the celebrated Jinadatta Suri, whose name appears as copyist, founder of the Kharatra Gaccha of the Svetambara Jainas, according to one tradition, who was actually living in 1147 A D[21] The manuscript is to be considered as just what it appears to be aside from the date associated with it, namely, a typical late fifteenth or early sixteenth century example , and it is therefore no longer necessary to arrange a history of Western Indian miniature painting to conform to the disturbing appearance of specimens so advanced stylistically at such an early date My previous opinions have therefore been modified in the present treatment

At Patan I saw a paper manuscript without miniatures dated A D 1278, possibly correctly But in any case by the middle of the fourteenth century the use of paper seems to have been well established in Western India In the catalogue of the Svetambara Jaina *bhandāras* at Limbdi[22] entry no 2869 is dated A D 1353, entry no 1564 is dated A D 1391 (entry no 2350 dated A D 1191 seems to contain a misprint, since that seems to be the date of the composition of the work not of the copying of the manuscript) none of these contains

[20] Brown (1)

[1] Vijaya Indra Suri's letter dated December 6, 1929, said in part ' I wish to bring to your notice one important fact So far as I know I have not heard of any Jaina work in paper Mss prior to the 14th century The commentary *Sandehavisausadhi* on *Kalpa Sutra* was written by Jinaprabhasuri in the early part of the 14th century (circa 1308) The *Avacurni* which is said to have been based on Jinaprabhasuri's commentary must have been later So the *Avacurni* cannot be said to have been written in 1147 It is an impossibility I think the mistake was committed by the copyist in the name of a great person to enhance the value of his manuscript by antedating it by nearly two centuries So I cannot accept the date of the manuscript as 1147 " For date of the *Sandehavisausadhi*, cf also Jacobi, *The Kalpa Sutra of Bhadrabahu*, p 25 See also in *Indian Art and Letters*, vol 4, pp 149-50, 1930 For Jinadattasuri, mentioned as copyist of the Ms , cf Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, p 352

[22] *Agamodaya Samiti Series*, vol 58, Bombay, 1928

miniatures The statement has been made by Mr Kaye that the earliest dated paper manuscripts in India are of the years A D 1231 and 1343, but on what authority he makes that statement does not appear, correct though it may be[23].

The paper manuscript which I saw at Patan dated A D 1278 (Vikrama Samvat 1335) was on folios about 10 by 3 inches, that is, of about the same length as a small palm-leaf manuscript but of greater depth The folios of the paper manuscripts become larger, running to a size of 11 by 4½ inches in the fifteenth century, and reaching still greater dimensions in the seventeenth century, when the Mughal influence in painting crowds out the old Western Indian style, showing then a size of as much as 16 by 6 inches, and possibly even larger

Paper as used for manuscripts seems to have come to India proper in Gujarat first arriving from Persia, which country it appears to have reached from China brought in by conquering peoples from Central Asia

The oldest dated illustrated Svetambara paper manuscripts of which I know are one in the library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, being a manuscript of the *Kalpa Sūtra* dated Vikrama Samvat 1472 (A D 1415)[24] and one of the *Kālakācāryakathā* in the Limbdi *bhandāra* (catalogue no 577) of the same date Following these is a manuscript of the *Kalpa Sūtra* dated Vikrama Samvat 1484 (A D 1427), now belonging to the India Office, London, of 113 folios, most of them coloured black or red, with the text written in silver ink[25] Many more appear during the fifteenth century, often written with gold ink We may fairly assume that illustrated paper manuscripts were being manufactured by A D 1400 The oldest manuscripts are usually done with

[23] Kaye, G R, The Bakhshali Manuscript, *Archaeol Surv India, new imperial series*, vol 43, pts 1 and 2, p 9 "The art of paper making appears to have been practised by the Chinese at a very early date From the Chinese the Muslims learnt the process in the eighth century and they introduced it into Europe and also India about the 12th century Among the earliest Muslim manuscripts now preserved, one was written in A D 866 others in 974, 980, 990, etc The earliest Indian paper manuscripts known were written in A D 1231 and 1343 The earlier one measures 6×4 inches (ratio 1 5) and the other 13½×5 (ratio 2 7) About the middle of the 15th century the use of palm leaf as a writing material ceased in western India, but in eastern India it continued to be used side by side with paper until much later"

[24] See in *catalogue of Mss*, in that society's library prepared by Prof H D Velankar, no 1429

[25] Jacobi, *The Kalpa Sutra of Bhadrabahu*, 28, Leipzig, 1879

gold or silver writing on a prepared red or black or blue, or sometimes an unprepared white, background There is no proof that the writing with silver or gold ink on the coloured surface is the oldest writing used with illustrated Svetambara manuscripts, as Mr Ghose suggests , for the earliest dated paper manuscripts without miniatures are written with black ink, like the palm leaf manuscripts on a plain background The use of gold or silver ink and the coloured surface indicate only an unusual outlay of money on the part of those laymen who gained merit by having the manuuscript copied The use of gold and silver ink on a specially prepared background persists to the time when the Svetambaras executed the illustrations in the Mughal style, and I have seen at Patan a most elaborate *Kalpa Sūtra* from that period on large size folios done thus A general principle, yet one which is by no means infallible for estimating the age of undated paper manuscripts may perhaps be found in ascertaining the dimentions of the page the nearer the measurements approach those of the palm-leaf folios, the more likely the manuscript is to be of the fifteenth century rather than of the sixteenth or seventeenth For example the manuscript in the India Office dated A D 1428 has folios measuring 11¾ by 3¼ inches Also the more blue there is in the background of the paintings, the more likely the manuscript is to come from the sixteenth century or later, although again this criterion is not absolutely certain for blue is used in moderate degree in some of our oldest dated manuscripts But the fact that the oldest paper specimens generally have a brick-red back-ground makes it difficult to photograph them successfully without equipment for panchromatic work

The introduction of paper for a writing surface produced a marked change in the character of the illustrations In the first place the artist was able to get a larger working space than he had on the palm-leaf folios In the case of the latter, the size of the picture was inevitably constricted by the natural width of the palm leaf the miniatures from Cambay executed in the year A D 1127 measure 3 × 7/8 by 2 × ¼ or 2 × 5/8 inches[26], those from Mewar, now at Boston, are a little smaller[27] But the paper miniatures are all larger As time went on and the size of the folios was enlarged, the available surface for the paintings was correspondingly increased So too the shape of the miniatures was generally different In the palm-leaf specimens the greater dimension is the horizontal , in the paper it is usually the vertical

Paper not only offered a larger area for the painting but also provided a surface susceptible to finer workmanship The broad, simple

[26] Brown (1)

[27] Coomaraswamy (4), (5)

lines of the earlier miniatures now give place to a more delicate, if often weaker, drawing and to an elaboration of the composition with minor elements and a multiplication of detail The miniatures of the paper period are more elegant, more sophisticated, and more decorative

A great change takes place in the colour scheme Gold is employed where yellow appears in the palm-leaf miniatures, although the yellow still persists in some examples Gold is also sometimes used as ink for writing the text, as too is silver Possibly the gold would not adhere to the palm-leaf as well as it would to the paper As time went on the use of gold increased, its ornamental value was appreciated, and we see it substituted for white in monks' drapery with the whiteness indicated by white dots, or, strangely, often by red dots As much gold as possible was used in the paintings, adding brilliance to the colour effect, and technique was developed of applying first the gold, then the other colours[28] Blue is more freely applied than in the palm-leaf period, thus giving a richer colour scheme, and is often used to form backgrounds, even in the fifteenth centuty An old rose is used, and very rarely an ochre Green still remains rare Both the brick-red or vermilion of the palm-leaf examples and a red containing some purple quality are used, usually not in the same miniature, although the two may appear on the same page in the case of those manuscripts which write the text with gold ink on a prepared red background The background for the writing is never to my observation, done with the brick-red or vermilion

In the subject matter of the miniatures also there is change The old balance of few narrative scenes to many of *Tirthankaras*, gods and patrons, changes to a heavy preponderance for the illustration of narratives In the new field it is confined among the Svetambaras so far as is now known, to the *Kalpa Sūtra* and the *Kālakācāryakathā*[29], which, often appears as an appendage to the *Kalpa Sūtra* The scenes depicted are fairly well stereotyped Each artist reproduced those known to his predecessors and the depicting of new scenes was a rarity, although as time went on new ones were done, and the late manuscripts of the *Kalpa Sūtra* contain sometimes twice as many as the early paper manuscripts[30] The compositions are standardized and appear with only slight individual variation in different manuscripts In the case of the Kalaka legends which appear in a number of different versions, scenes are sometimes

[28] Ghose

[29] Huttemann, Coomaraswamy (2)

[30] A descriptive catalogue of miniature paintings of the *Kalpa Sutra* has been prepared by me, and, I hope, will shortly be published

illustrated in a manuscript where the actual text does not describe the scenes For example, the incident of Kalaka getting the ball out of the well does not appear in the text of Bhavadeva s version, yet one of the manuscripts of that text illustrates it in a painting Thus we see clearly that the artist was illustrating the body of legend clustering around the name of Kalaka rather than the actual text in which his miniatures were appearing

The art also appears outside the Svetambara milieu A secular roll manuscript of a text called the *Vasantavilasa*, dated Vikrama Samvat 1508 (A D 1451) contains miniature of this style[31] Another manuscript outside the Svetambara environment is partly preserved and is now owned by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston It is Vaisnava in subject, being devoted to the worship chiefly of Krishna The latter manuscript is not dated but seems to be from about the middle of the fifteenth century[32] In neither of these manuscripts do the illustrations seem to be cliches , rather they have the charcter of originals

Additional elements appear in the compositions particularly in the wider use of foliage decoration, a greater number of animals represented, the more profuse illustration of architectural settings, the picturing of domestic and other new types of scenes The drawing becomes more delicate and refined, the compositions more complicated, new bodily poses appear

Very suggestively there are present in the *Kālakācāryakathā* paintings a new type of face and with it a new facial pose The face is decidedly Mongolian in shape, moustaches, and beard, and is used only for depicting the foreign Sahis, Saka by nationality, whom Kalaka has led from the western bank of the Indus to the eastern and into Kacch Gujarat, and Malwa The very name of these Sahis is Persian, being a Prakrit word for Shah, "King' , and their overlord is called Sahanusahi, Persian Shahan Shah The face of the Sahis is never shown in the slightly less than full profile pose with the protruding eye that is the invariable pose for the faces of Indians Instead it is shown in something less than full front face and the eyes are always contained within the facial contour[33]

The costume of the Sahis is often different from that worn by any Indian figures They are frequently dressed in long coats of overlap-

31 Gangoly (1), Mehta, (1), (2), (3)

32 Brown (2), Gangoly (2), (3) Although Gangoly's article was published in an issue for 1930 the issue was not distributed until 1931 , hence he had not seen my article in *Eastern Art*, nor had I seen his when I wrote

33 Brown (1)

ping links of mail, and on their heads they wear pointed helmets with long neck pieces In some paintings they wear the turban wound around a pointed cap, like that at present in vogue among Pathans[34]. Still more, the bodily poses are sometimes unlike any used with Indians

It may not be without point to draw attention to the fact that the Mongolian cast of countenance of the Sahis, their costume, and their bodily poses, although foreign to the rest of this Western Indian style of painting, are similar to elements in Mongol-Persian painting[35]

Possibly in these miniatures of the *Kālakācāryakathā* we should be justified in seeing the first small intrusion into Indian painting of Persian elements As time went on the Persian encroached increasingly upon the native Indian style, until the combination of the two brought into existence the Rajput and Mughal schools The Western Indian style was ultimately extinguished By the middle of the seventeenth century it was about done , the few examples I have seen from after that time are degenerate and of no value aesthetically Jaina, Hindu, and lay artists alike employ Rajput styles[36]

Reprinted from *The Story of Kalaka*, Washington, 1933

[34] The pointed cap remainds us of the fact that among the ancient Sakas there was a division known as the Tigrakhauda, "Pointed-Caps"

[35] See illustrations in Blochet, op cit , pls 46, 62

[36] Coomaraswamy (2) , Ghose

Aesthetics and Relationships of Jaina Painting

A K COOMARASWAMY

The Jaina manuscripts although the illuminated examples are far from common, constitute the chief exception to the general rule that Indian mansuscripts are not illustrated It will be seen, however, that there is no attempt at an organic relationship of text and illustration, such as always appear in Persian manuscripts The Jaina miniature is simply a square or oblong picture that looks as if it had been pasted on to the page, rather than designed as a part of it This may not arise so much from the fact that the painter and writer must have separate persons, as from the fact that Indian painting was highly developed long before the sacred books were habitually preserved in written form

We are familiar with the striking continuity of the traditions of Buddhist painting to give only one example, compare the White Elephant Gift (*Vessantara Jātaka*) as represented at Degaldoruva in Ceylon (18th century my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, frontispiece) with the same subject represented at Miran (2nd Century , Stein *Desert Cathay*, figure 147) the latter example, and indeed both, must reflect still older Indian models Just the same must be true of the illustrations to the lives of the *Jinas* probably nothing in the composition is due to the 15th century painter, just as nothing in the text is due to the 15th century scribe This does not mean of course that the Jaina art has not varied in style, nor that the details of costume, architecture and manners may not largely reflect the painters own environment, nor that there is no diversity of merit in the mediaeval works , it means that we had before us Jaina paintings of the 15th century, or even earlier, we should most likely recognise in then compositions almost identical, as such, with many of those in the 15th century books and later

Probably the illustrations to the *Kālakācāryakathānakam* have not so old an ancestry The story itself is of later origin, and I should suppose the compositions may not go further back than the 10th century On the whole, they are decidedly less formal and more anecdotal than those accompanying the lives of the *Jinas*

In any case, we have before us a purely Indian art derived, like Rajput and Orissa painting and the late Buddhist art of Ceylon from

old traditions, but carrying us further back in actual examples than either of these

If we seek for definite parallels, other than such obvious resemblances as that of the figure of a seated *Jina* to a seated Buddha, we are reminded first of the illustrations to the oldest Nepalese palm-leaf mss of Prajnaparamita, etc These illustrations likewise take the form of square frames let into the text very much as in the manuscripts There are also resemblances in matters of detail thus, the curious sloping throne (a perspective representation ?) seems to be derived from architectural canopies of the earlier art There are also striking reminiscences of the Nepalese manner of drawing hands and feet, and general feeling for outline Also the colouring, where gold is not employed, or only to an insignificant extent, recalls old Buddhist art

The pictures are filled with characteristically Indian and ancient motifs for example the constant representation of *hamsa*, peacocks, lions and elephants, the occasional purely decorative use of the lotus to fill empty spaces (cf 18th century Sinhalese Buddhist paintings), the fondness for clouds (which have no likeness to Chinese or Persian formulas), the conventions for water, the Hindu costumes (such as *dhoti*—note the *hamsa* and diaper designs of the printed cotton or woven *sārīs*, etc), the lion thrones (*simhāsana*), and the bending of trees (*drumanatir*) towards the holy man (cf *Rāmāyana*, exile of Rama—"the trees incline their heads towards him ') The plain domed arch is of *makara torana* origin, the same is doubtless true of the cusped arches which give no proofs of contemporary Persian influences, as they occur also in Nepalese art of the 9th century, and the upper frieze of the Visvakarma Cave temple at Elura, still earlier The distinctively Persian costume of the Sahis in Kalakacarya pictures cannot be said to prove more than an acquaintance with Persian customs

The physical type is rather peculiar, the very sharp-hooked nose and large eyes being especially striking The sword-edged nose is also characteristic of mediaeval Nepalese bronzes and Orissa sculptures and was admired in the most Hindu circles (in Vidyapati, a beautiful woman's nose is compared to Guruda's beak), it was nevertheless a feature no less admirable in the eyes of the Persians The large eyes are of course characteristics of all Indian art, but they are here drawn in a peculiar manner, not as in Nepalese or Rajput paintings The further eye is made to project from the outline of the cheek in a most extraordinary way The prolongation of the outer corner of the eye, almost to meet a ear, is also remarkable, it corresponds to characteristic passages in

Hindu literature[1] Nevertheless, this elongation of the eye by a single fine line stretching to the ear is not quite like anything that is familiar in other schools of Indian painting, while it very strongly recalls the drawings of the 12th and the 13th century Rhages pottery, and seems to me to constitute the most definite suggestion of relationship to Persian Art that these Jaina miniatures afford The use of gold leaf possibly points in the same direction

The parallels with Rajput painting are naturally closer Thus, in the *dikṣā* scene, Mahavira is represented with a lion waist and hugely developed chest and there are many figures where it would be difficult at first sight to distinghuish the representations as those of men or women This recalls the mannerism of the large Krisna cartoons from Jaipur (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, I, 2, fig 1 Indian Drawings, II, Pls 2 & 3) We have already remarked that the representation of clouds is anything but Persian or Chinese in manner on the other hand, it is by no means unlike the manner of the earlier Pahari and Rajasthani paintings (17th century Jammu district and Rajputana—and not 18th century Kangra), where a narrow band of dark blue storm-colud is constantly introduced above the high horizon It will not be forgotten that the monsoon clouds in India are as much liked and desired as blue sky in northern Europe Another resemblance to Rajput art (Jammu) appears in the strong red background (also in old Nepalese and late Sinhalese etc)

The architecture in the paintings resembles that of Gujarat where most of the miniatures must have been painted

On the whole, the archaeological interest of Jaina painting exceeds its aesthetic significance In most of the manuscripts the drawing is indeed very highly accomplished but rather of a workshop character than deeply felt Many of the miniatures are overcrowded with detail, the statement of fact rather than the expression of emotion But in some cases the aesthetic values are much higher The *dikṣā* scene (Tonsure of Mahavira) though it conforms to the usual type in most details of composition, attain to far greater dignity, and is comparable in passion with the noble passage of the *Kalpa Sutra* which begins "Reverence to the Saints, and Blessed Ones " That emotion is really expressed in the picture, which led the chief of the gods to decend from

[1] cf *Rajatarangini* 1,216 "The corner of their eyes were captivating and illuminated by a very thin line of antimony, which appeared to play the part of the stem to the ruby-lotuses of their ear-ornaments " (Stein)

heaven and kneel with an offering before the Wise one As elsewhere in Indian Literature and art (the Great Renunciation of Buddha , Arjuna's Penance, etc), we are made to feel that the going forth of the hero-saint is an event of cosmic and more than temporal significance Like Blake, the poet thought that "there were listners in other worlds than this"[2] Such examples go far to prove that there must once have existed an Indian school of Jaina painting comparable with the classic Buddhist art of Ajanta

Within more secular limits, some of the Kalakacarya pictures have excellent qualities The Sahi upon his throne is admirably designed , the vertically striped robe, as well as the pose give an impression of great repose and dignity Other pictures, such as that of the magic ass are distinctly amusing, though the humour may be quite unconscious

The specimens of book furniture afford examples of excellent craftmenship The embroidery of the book covers is vigourously designed and admirably and patiently executed The book strings are still better , nothing could be more successful than the patterns, both geometrical and floral

Reprinted from 'Notes on Jaina Art',
Journal of Indian Art, No 127 London 1914

[2] W B Yeats, *Poems of William Blake*, Introduction

Pigments used in Jaina Miniatures

Moti Chandra

The majority of colours in the palette of Western Indian painting came from minerals or natural salts Some minerals were obtained in fine powders, while others were found in stones which had to be pulverised in fine dust to obtain colours

To separate the colours from two undesirable elements, the sand and humus, the earth is dissolved in water Naturally, the sand is deposited at the bottom, and the peat and mould tend to float and are skimmed off But before the coloured earth also sets at the bottom, the water is quickly drained into another vessel This process is repeated several times, till the colour is cleansed of all impurities After being dried in the sun, the colour is ready to be used

White

The nature of white used in Western Indian book illustrations specially in the palm-leaf period, has not yet been ascertained by scientific analysis It could not have been white lead or zinc-white, as these pigments are not mentioned in the medieval Sanskrit texts on painting The *Mānasollāsa*, a work composed in 1131 A D by Somesvara, mentions burnt conch-shell as pure white employed by the artists In the list of formulas for mixing colours in two stray paper-folios, obtained by Muni Punyavijayji, the use of zinc-white is ordained The possibility is that this colour was introduced in India in the 16th century or even a little earlier, by the Muslims as the word *safedā* for zinc-white is of Persian origin But the use of zinc-white by the Mughal painters raises an important question whether the *safedā* used in Mughal paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries was in reality zinc-white or was it white lead, as the process of making zinc-white was discovered in the 18th century

White lead was extensively used in medieval European paintings though it has two drawbacks Firstly, it is poisonous and thus injurious for the worker and secondly, as water-colour pigment, it may be blackened by sulphur gases in the air But this darkening of colour is uncommon in medieval manuscript paintings of India From the medieval painter's point of view it was a further fault of white lead that it was incompatible with verdigris and orpiment in mixtures As orpiment was frequently used in the Western Indian miniatures with white,

it is apparent that it is not white lead but perhaps, burnt conch-shell, kaolin or chalk

According to *Silparatna*, white used as priming was obtained from burnt conch-shell or white earth, the exudation of elephant apple and *nim* serving as binding media

The method of preparing zinc-white for painting is as follows the best quality of kashgar zinc-white is ground and sifted through a piece of muslin This powder is gradually dissolved in *dhau*-gum solution in a porcelain basin, till it attains the consistency of thick milk This mixture is slowly drained into another basin, so that the impurities deposited at the bottom are left over This process is repeated several times, till pure zinc-white is obtained

Black

The medieval Sanskrit texts on painting knew only of two formulas of the preparation of black pigment The *Silparatna* gives the following methods for obtaining the lamp-black (1) In an earthen cup filled with oil, the wick saturated with oil is lighted Then a globular earthen pot, with the inside of its belly besmeared with dried cow-dung, is placed over the flame of the lamp The lamp black sticking inside the pot should then be scraped, kneaded in an earthen pot and allowed to dry Then it should be mixed with *nim* water gum and pure water, levigated and then dried (2) It may be obtained from certain mineral A barley grain of blue metal (perhaps antimony) should be reduced to fine powder and then mixed with the *Kapittha*-juice it should be dried

Red

Red is the favourite colour with Nature There are red stones, clays and red limes, in which the oxide of iron is always present In the medieval Sanskrit texts on painting various shades of red are descibed

Red Ochre (geru) It is a colour widely used in ancient paintings and its hue is light and warm The Venetian red stands for red ochre in the range of European colours It is doubtful whether it was used in Western Indian miniatures According to *Silparatna* red ochre was levigated on stone for full one day and then pure colour is obtained by the washing process

Red Lead (*sindūra*) It was used by West Indian painters, specially in the paper period miniatures for yellowish red The colour was prepared by roasting white lead in open air till it attained deep colour According to *Silparatna*, the red lead was ground for half a day in water and the process was repeated for 24 hours after 5 days Then it was kept in a suitable receptacle The *nim* gum was used as a medium with it

Vermilion or Crude Cinnabar (*hingola*) This mineral when ground yields a bright red The crude cinnabar is throughly levigated in a mortar with the help of sugarated water or lime juice which is a better substitute Then the cinnabar is allowed to settle and the yellowish water is carefully drained off The process is repeated fifteen times, or even more, to obtain purest cinnabar It is again levigated with sugarated water or lime juice and gum, and, after being thoroughly mixed, it is formed into tablets and dried

Realgar or Red Arsenic (*manahśilā*) This brilliant red was very rarely used in medieval West Indian miniatures It is a first cousin of the orpiment and is also a sulphide of arsenic It yields as beautiful an orange yellow as the orpiment According to *Silparatna* realgar (*manahśilā*) was reduced to fine powder and then used as colour

Red Lake (*lākṣā-rasa*) The word red lake as applied to pigments, is derived from a material known as *lacca*, from which lake pigment were prepared What was ordinarily known as *lacca*, is, however, not known It may, however, be surmised that the material was dark red incrustation of resin which is produced on certain kinds of trees by certain kinds of insects This resin is the source of shellac If the crude material is boiled in water containing a little alkali, the colouring matter is dissolved in water and sold as lac-dye The colour which lac-dye can be made to produce are quite voilet

Pothi A variety of Indian lake was also obtained from the dark red berries of the *poi* plant

Kermes The *kermas* seems to have been used on a small scale in the palm-leaf miniatures, though in the miniatures on paper its use seems to have been general Though the Sanskrit texts on painting do not mention *kermes* as a colouring material, some very interesting information about *krmirāga* or Carmine is obtained from Jaina literature Commenting on the *gāthā* 567 of the *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā*, Asadhar observes that in the Sanskrit commentary and glosses, *kṛmirāga* was an

insect product and was used in dying valuable shawls There is another interesting story of a Persian merchant in *Bṛhad Kathākośa* In the Prākrit commentary the following story about its origin is quoted In the country of the Carmaranga Mlecchas, it was a custom to draw out human blood with leeches and collect it in vessels After a few days, weevils were produced which yielded the *kṛmirāga* for dying shawls There is another interesting story of a Persian merchant in the *Bṛhad Kathākoṣa* in which he buys a girl, feeds her for six months and draws her blood with leeches and produces *kṛmirāga* insect thereby From these it can be surmised that the production of carmine was a closely guarded secret and that it was not an Indian product Probably the people of Samarkand and Persia had the monopoly of its production

The Arabs called a red insect dyestuff *kermas* This Arabic definition was taken over into medieval Latin in the form of the adjective *Kernasinum*, from which the Italian Cremisino, the French Cramoisie and the English Crimson

The *kermes* is tied in a piece of cotton cloth with the *pathānilodh* and *bujnuk* It is allowed to soak in water for the whole night Afterwards, it is boiled on slow fire and then strained When the water has evaporated the residue should be mixed with very acid curd (*dahi*) If black shaded carmine is desired, no curd should be added

Blue

Symbolically and aesthetically, the colour blue has appealed to Indian mind Its various shades have been extensively and beautifully used in the Indian painting

Indigo The medieval texts on painting acclaim indigo being the chief blue of the painter It was extracted from a certain plant known as Indigoferae It was primarily used as dye, but was also used as blue pigment Its use is apparent in the palm-leaf manuscripts of Western India

Ultramarine azure (*rājāvarta*, lazvard) There is evidence to show that blue was extracted from the lapis lazuli in quite early times The lapis lazuli, from which ultramarine blue was extracted, is almost exclusively found in Badakhsan and Persia The stone was imported from Persia, and perhaps, the colour was also imported from Persia readymade as no process of its manufacture is mentioned in Sanskrit texts. In the palm-leaf period of Western Indian painting ultramarine blue

was not used but in miniatures on paper, it was however, a favourite blue

Yellow

In the *Visnudharmottara Purāna* orpiment (*haritāla*) is mentioned as one of the colouring materials In the medieval Indian palm-leaf manuscripts orpiment was used for correction and as a yellow pigment Two kinds of orpiments, *dagadī* and *vargi*, are known and only the latter is used as a pigment The orpiment is throughly levigated to the consistency of fine wheat flour and sifted This powder is again levigated with the gum Arabic solution

Orpiment is a sulphide of arsenic and found in nature as stone Its colour is light, vivid yellow, sometimes pure yellow, but more often slightly inclined towards orange In its natural state, it has a mica like sparkle which recalls the lusture of gold

Peorī It is certain that *peorī* was never used as yellow in the miniatures of the palm-leaf period and no Sanskrit text makes any allusion to it It seems that the colour was introduced from Persia It is equally favourite as orpiment in the miniature on paper after 1400 A D The *peorī* was obtained from urine of the cow fed on mango leaves for a few days The urine was boiled and after the water was evaporated, the sediments was rolled into balls, which were dried at first on charcoal and then in the sun The colour is deep yellow and very pleasing to the eye

Green

White, black, red, blue and yellow are the basic colours according to the *Silpaśāstras* The rest of the colour shades were obtained by admixtures Green was used in palm-leaf paintings not as a separate colour, its shades being obtained by admixtures After 14th century, however, several greens seem to have added to the palette of the painter

Terraverte The different varieties of green earth yielded rather a dull transparent green soapy in texture

Harābhātā or *Harādhābā* seems to have malachite green This mineral occurs in several modifications in nature

Zangāl Verdigris is an acetate of copper prepared by pieces of copper with vinegar

Mixed Colours

The following lists of mixed colours (*miśravarna*) are found in the *Mānasollāsa* and *Silparatna*

Mānasollāsa list

(1) Cinnabar mixed with conchshell lime yields a red-lotus hue

(2) Lac-dye mixed with conchshell lime yields the shade of the *rasa*(?) (variant *chora*) plant

(3) Red ochre mixed with conchshell lime powder yields the shade of smoke

(4) Orpiment mixed with conchshell lime yields the shade of the *chorāśva*(?) plant

(5) Lampblack mixed with conchshell lime also yields the shade of smoke

(6) Indigo mixed with conchshell lime yields the pigeon gray

(7) Indigo mixed with orpiment yields green

(8) Lamblack mixed with red ochre yields dark brown shade

(9) Lampblack mixed with lac dye yields the shade of the *patala* flower

(10) Lac-dye mixed with indigo yields the deep purple of the *Jambu* fruit

Silparatna list

(1) White mixed with red yields a fair-colour (*gauracchavi*)

(2) White, lampblack and yellow mixed in equal proportion yield a speckled shade (*sāra*)

(3) White and lampblack mixed in equal proportion yield an elephant grey

(4) Red and yellow mixed in equal proportion yield the shade of the *bakula* fruit or flame

(5) Red with yellow in proportion of 2 to 1 yields deep red (*ati-raktaka*)

(6) Yellow mixed with white in proportion of 2 to 1 yields a tawny colour (*pingala*)

(7) The body colour is obtained by the following admixtures

(i) Yellow mixed with lampblack in proportion of 2 to 1 ,
(ii) Lampblack and yellow in equal proportion

(8) Orpiment mixed with deep brown yields the shade of a parrot's feather
(9) Lac-dye mixed with vermilion yields deep red
(10) Lampblack mixed with lac-dye yields the deep purple of the *Jambū* fruit
(11) Lac-dye, *jātilinga*, white and vermilion mixed in equal proportion yield the body colour of the members of higher cast
(12) Lampblack mixed with indigo yields the shade for hair.

Gold

In the Western Indian miniatures of the paper period, gold is extensively used as colour It was very favourite with the painters as it suggested power and grandeur and as its gleaming lusture appealed to the eyes

In the *Mānasollāsa*, a detailed description of how to prepare gold powder is given It seems that the *virana* grass with short pointed tips mixed with gold-leaf was levigated slowly with the pestle on a stone slab Then the powder was put in a bronze vessel mixed with water , it was washed several times till the sand and dust were completely eliminated After this the gold powder (*hemakalka*) was ready to be used mixed with the size (*vajralepa*) in very small quantities While applying gold to a painting, only the tip of the brush was dipped in the colour and only golden ornaments were painted with it When the gold had dried, it was burnished with boar s tusk in order to impart gloss to the colour

From the above description of gold powder, an interesting point emerges It is emphasised that gold was to be used in very small quantities Apparently it was considered too precious to be wasted and only ornaments were to be painted with it This injuction apparently explains the absence of gold in the 12th and 13th century palm-leaf miniatures and its cautious use in the 14th century miniatures and cloth paintings In the 15th century however, gold is profusedly used and that may be due to cheapening of gold price

Abridged from Moti Chandra, *Jaina Miniature Paintings from Western India*, Ahmedabad, 1949

Lives of the Jinas and other Stories*

Mahavira

At the close of his alloted period of existence in heaven, Mahavira, the last of the *Tirthankaras*, took conception in the womb of Devananda, the wife of *Brāhmana* Risabhadatta, in the town of Kundagrama near Vaisali, capital of Vedeha

That night the *Brāhmani* Devananda lay in fitful slumber, between sleeping and waking, and she dreamed fourteen auspicious and blessed dreams, to wit of an elephant, a bull, a lion, the anointing (of the goddess Sri), a garland, the moon, the sun, a flag, a vase, a lotus lake, an ocean, a celestial abode, a heap of jewels and a flame She awoke from these dreams happy and contented , and having firmly fixed the dreams in her mind, she sought the *Brāhmana* Risabhadatta and related to him the dreams Risabhadatta saw that they foretold a son, beautiful and perfect and clever, who would become acquainted with all branches of scripture, grammar and science

Meanwhile, Sakra (Indra) sat on his throne in the council hall Sudharma in heaven He was then enjoying the divine pleasures like music, playing and story-telling He likewise surveyed the whole land of Jambudvipa with his all-embracing gaze, and he saw that Mahavira was conceived in the womb of Devananda Trembling with delight, he arose from his throne and advanced in the direction of the Holy One Then from there he paid his respects

It immediately occured to him that it never had happened nor ever could happen that any *Arhat*, *Cakravarti*, or *Vāsudeva* had taken birth in a low or degraded or in any *Brāhmana* family, but only in noble families of pure descent 'This is the first time that an *Arhat* has taken conception in an unworthy family , however, it has not yet happened that one has ever been born in such a family I shall therefore cause the venerable ascetic Mahavira to be removed from Brahmanical quarter Kundagrama and from the womb of the *Brāhmani* Devavananda, and to be placed as an embryo in the womb of the *Kṣatriyāni* Trisala, wife of *Kṣatriya* Siddhartha , and the embryo of the *Kṣatriyāni* Trisala to be

* These biographical sketches and stories have references to the Jaina miniature paintings reproduced in this journal

placed in the womb of the *Brāhmanī* Devananda' Thus reflecting, he called Harinegamesi the commander of his infantry and instructed him to exchange the embryos and to return and report the execution of the command

Harinegamesi descended from heaven and reached the town of Kundagrama and the house of the *Brāhmana* Risabhadatta There he bowed eight times to Mahavira, and cast the *Brāhmanī* Devananda into a deep sleep, and all her retenue , removing all that was unclean, he brought forth what was clean, and placed the embryo of the venerable ascetic Mahavira in the womb of the *Kṣatriyānī* Trisala, and the embryo of the *Kṣatriyānī* in the womb of the *Brāhmanī* Devananda And having so done, he returned whence he came This befell on the eighty-third day after conception, in the middle of the night

On that night the *Ksatriyānī* Trisala lay on her couch twixt sleeping and waking, in her bower Then there came to her the fourteen auspicious and delightful dreams that the *Brāhmanī* Devananda had formerly dreamed

From these auspicious and happy dreams the *Ksatriyānī* Trisala awoke She then sought the couch of the *Ksatriya* Siddhartha, and related to him the fourteen dreams, and asked her lord what they might portend He foretold that she would give birth to a son, who would establish the fame of their family

At daybreak, Siddhartha called for his servants, and ordered them to prepare the hall of audience He himself went to the royal gymnasium and practised exercises, such as jumping, wrestling, fencing, and fighting, till he was wearied Then he was well shampooed , and when he was refreshed, he entered the bath-room He bathed himself with pure scented water Then he dried himself and donned a new and costly robe A royal umbrella was held above him as he proceeded from his bath and took his seat in the hall of audience, surrounded by chiefs and vassals, ministers, merchants and masters of guilds On the one side of the throne he had set eight chairs of state , and on the other a curtain was drawn and behind this curtain was placed a jewelled chair of state for the *Ksatriyānī* Trisala

Then Siddhartha sent for the interpreters of dreams , and they came from their houses and took their seats on the chairs of state Meanwhile Trisala took her seat behind the curtain Siddhartha recounted the dreams to the interpreters, and they after consideration and

discussion, replied "O beloved of the gods, there are thirty Great Dreams enumerated in our books, and of these, those who dream fourteen dreams are the mothers either of Universal Emperors or of *Arhats* ; and hence the *Kṣatriyāni*, having seen fourteen, will be the mother either of a *Cakravarti* or of a *Jina*

The king Siddhartha gladly accepted this interpretation and dismissed the interpreters with gifts

After the lapse of nine months and seven and a half days, in the middle of the night, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni, Trisala, perfectly healthy herself, gave birth to a pefectly healthy boy

That night was an occasion of great rejoicing , the universe was resplendent with one light, as the gods and goddesses descended and ascended, and great was the noise and confusion of the assembly of gods These gods appeared to celebrate the feast of anointment (*abhiṣeka*) of the *Tirthankara s* birth-day Siddhartha proclaimed a ten days' festival in his city, with remission of taxes, alms-giving, and so forth On the twelfth day there took place a royal banquet, and it was announced that the boy's name would be Vardhamana

Mahavira dwelt in Videha thirty years, before his parents departed to the world of the gods , and then only, with the permission of his elder brother and the great men of the kingdom, he fulfilled his vow He made a suitable distribution of all his wealth This distribution of gifts occupied a whole year, at the end of which time, Sakra with four order of gods came to Ksatriya Kundapura He created by magic a divine pedestal (*deva chanda*) with a throne and footstool Then placing Mahavira on the throne he bathed him with pure water and precious oils and robed him in the lightest of figured muslins Then the gods again created by magic a splendid palanquin called Candraprabha provided with a throne

After completing a three days' fast, Mahavira ascended the throne and took his seat in the palanquin , in front it was borne by men, by the gods behind It proceeded from the Ksatriya quarter of Kundapura along the highway toward the park called Jnatrisanda Just at nightfall the palanquin came to rest upon a little hillock beside an *Asoka* tree , Mahavira descended and took his seat beneath the tree, with his face toward the east He removed his ornaments and fine clothes and tearing out his hair in five handfulls, he obtained *diksa*, vowing to commit

no sin At the same time he donned a divine garment, which he accepted from Sakra who received the rejected ornaments and fine clothes and removed them to the Ocean of Milk

Mahavira obtained the degree of knowledge called *Manahaparyāya* and he resolved to neglect the care of his body for twelve years, bearing with equanimity all pleasures and pains, whether arising from divine powers, from men or from animals The twelve years duly passed and it was in the thirteenth year that Mahavira, seated in deep meditation beside a *Sala* tree, near the town Grimbhikagrama, attained *kevala-jñāna*, infinite and supreme knowledge and intuition

Now the time had come for him to teach the doctrine of the *Jinas* To this end the gods prepared for him a *samavasarana* or preaching hall, and entering this by the eastern gate he took his seat upon the throne, and taught the Divine Law to gods and men

During a period of nearly thirty years following, Mahavira wandered to and fro, spending the rainy season in different cities, founding a great community of monks and lay votaries, and teaching the five great vows, the doctrine of six classes of living beings, and so forth At the end of that time, in the town of Pava, the venerable ascetic Mahavira entered *nirvāna*, cutting asunder the ties of birth, old age and death, becoming a *Siddha*, a *Buddha*, a *Mukta*, one who is finally released, never more to return, entering the paradise of perfected souls

Parsvanatha

Parsvanatha was born at Varanasi His father's name was Asvasena and mother's Bama Below we give certain episodes peculiar to Parsva from *Pārsvanāthacarita* which relates the story of nine prebirths of Parsvanatha and Katha (originally the brothers Marubhuti and Kamatha in each of which the former is slain by the latter, but dies forgivingly When Marubhuti is reborn as Parsva, Kamatha is reborn first as Katha or Kamatha, who becomes an ascetic and later as the *Asura* Meghamali

One day Parsva saw Katha surrounded by a great concourse of people, performing the severe five-fire-penance (*pañcāgnitapa*) And he saw that Katha had thrown a great serpent into a fire-pan which stands upon the fagots of the fire He asked the reason for this pitiless practice, inconsistent with Katha's own austerities Katha replied that kings might understand elephants and horses, but that sages alone understood religion Parsva had the fire put out, the agonised serpent

died and was reborn as Dharana, king of the *Nāgas* in the subterranean home of the serpents Katha, as the result of his false practice, was reborn as an *Asura* by name of Meghamali

Parsva, happening to see on the wall of his palace a picture of the *Arhat*, Nemi, who had taken the vow early in life, decided to do the same At the foot of an *Aśoka* tree he renounced power and wealth, plucked out his hair, and at the age of thirty, obtained *kevala* knowledge He wandered from place to place, instructing, and acclaimed as a *Tirthankara* In course of his wanderings, Lord Parsva was attacked by the *Asura* Meghamali (the soul of Kamatha) with tigers, elephants, and scorpions, but, when he showed no fear, they slank off, as though ashamed Meghamali then tried to submerge him in the waters produced by a fearful thunderstorm , even then the Lord did not budge from his place and his pious meditations Dharana finding out by superior insight that Kamatha was attacking the Lord, fashioned by means of his serpent hoods an umbrella over his head the Lord stood there submerged in a deep trance, retaining his equanimity in the face of both Kamatha's attacks and Dharana's devotion Dharana then excoriated Meghamali's hatred of the Lord, pointing out that he had done him no injury, but on the contrary, had saved him from the sin of burning up Dharana on the occasion of his uncanny practice Meghamali then repented, took resort to the Lord, and went home, determined to devote himself to piety Thus ended the drama of the persecution of the soul of Marubhuti by the soul of Kamatha, carried on through ten existences

Aristanemi

At Sauripura, Siva the wife of Samudravijaya, dreamt at dawn the fourteen great dreams Then at midnight of the 5th of Sravana *suklā* she gave birth to a child of dark colour with the mark of a conch The child was given the name of Aristanemi He grew up at Dvaraka into a young man

Indra once described the peculiar virtues of Nemi to the gods The latter unbelieving assumed human forms and waged war upon Dvaraka, Balarama and Krisna were defeated and made prisoners Then Krisna's wives went to their brother in-law Nemi and said humbly that he, being a *Jina*, a *Tirthankara*, was of unlimited power, and that though his brothers had been carried off he was unmoved and his valour would be of no account unless it was shown now Nemi considered for a while, then proceeded against the enemy. He completely defeated the gods and brought back Andhakavrisni, Balarama and Krisna

Here is another episode His cousin Krisna was also of superhuman strength, and was able to blow a large conch from which it was believed no other person could produce a blast One day Nemi saw it lying on the ground, and asking why that toy was lying there, he took it up and blew such a blast upon it as quite alarmed Krisna , who began to enquire who it was that could blow upon his conch On finding it was his cousin, he became jealous of him as a rival, and accordingly directed his hundred *gopis* to excite amorous thoughts in Neminatha and shame him into marriage, thinking this the only way to put down his strength The *gopis* began to tease him and tell him as he was grown up to manhood he ought to marry At first he refused, but after a deal of reviling and reproaching he consented, and Krisna selected for him Rajimati the daughter of Ugrasena of Girnar When the wedding day came and Neminatha approached Junagadh, he saw a flock of sheep and herds of cattle collected to be sacrificed for the people that had assembled to celebrate the wedding the sheep were bleating piteously, and, struck with pity for them and the vanity of human happiness, and to save the lives of so many animals, he resolved to become an ascetic gave up the world and retired into the Girnar hills Rajimati also renounced the world

Risabhanatha

Risabha was a Kosalan *Kṣatriya* of the Kasyapa *gotra* He was born at Vinata (modern Ayodhya) towards the end of the period of *Yugalins* His father s name was Navi and mother s Maru He bore the five epithets representing him as Risabha the first king, the first mendicant the first *Jina* and the first *Tirthankara*

As the wish-yielding (*kalpa-vrkṣa*) trees began to disappear, people became very much quarrelsome and lost respect for one another So they elected Risabha as their king Thus he became the first king It was he who again first taught men and women different arts and industries He taught seventy-two sciences of which writing was the first, arithmetic the most important, and the knowledge of omens the last, the sixty-four accomplishments of women, hundred arts and three occupations of men The arts as those of potter, blacksmith, painter, weaver and barbar, (each of the five principal arts was subdivided into twenty branches,) were taught while the occupations such as agriculture, trade etc , developed everywhere Dancing, singing, music, etc , were the accomplishments of women

Due to disappearance of *kalpa-vṛkṣas*, men used to live on leaves and vegetables, but they could not digest them At this time fire broke out by means of constant striking of trees against one another on account of heavy storm The people were astonished at this new phenomenon and were advised by Risabha to keep the fire burning by adding fuel to it He then taught them the preparation of earthen wares and advised them to take cooked food only The people were cured of indigestion by following his advice But they felt the necessity of protecting the earthen wares from being broken by wild animals Risabha taught them the art of building huts and art of painting for adorning the rooms He then taught them the art of weaving cloth

During his reign he caused several palaces to be built and big markets opened He had the town encircled by big walls The people were taught to tend cattle They began to cultivate land with the help of cattle Land yielded abundant crops and the people started business on an exchange basis To teach people the practice of piety he gave gold coins in charity for a year, gave separate kingdoms to his sons

Risabha ruled his kingdom with equity and wisdom and at last gave up his sovereignty in favour of his eldest son Bharata He went to Purimatala (modern Prayaga) and initiated himself as a wandering ascetic Emaciated by his austerities he was reduced to a collection of skin and fibres In course of his wanderings he came to the house of Sreyamsa Kumara and drank sugar-cane juice offered by him He travelled far and wide and at last acquired *kevala*-knowledge

Story of Kalaka

There was a town in Bharatavarsa, named Dharavasa The king of that town was Vajrasimha and his chief queen was Surasundari They had a son expert in every science, named Kalakakumara One day he was returning from a drive, and saw Gunakara, a Jaina priest, preaching in the mango park He approached the monk, bowed, and listened , and was converted and joined the order When he had completed his eligious studies, his teacher established him as head of the order in his stead With five hundred monks he proceeded to Ujjayini, and there remained for some days, preaching Meanwhile there also arrived a party of pious nuns, amongst whom was beautiful and devout Sarasvati, Kalakacarya's younger sister

Gardhabhilla, king of Ujjayini, passed that way, and seeing Sarasvati, desired her, and carried her off against her will Kalakacarya

remonstrated with the king but in vain Kalakacarya summoned the fourfold Synod , but that also in vain, and Kalakacarya made a vow, 'either to drive the king out of his kingdom, or himself to go the way of those who are the enemies of the faith and destroy piety' So saying the Wise One reflected that he must have recourse to cunning, since the king was brave and powerful, and expert in ass-magic He dressed himself as a madman, and frequented cross roads and market places calling out 'If Gardhavilla is king, what of that ? If I go on begging, what of that ?' When the townsfolk heard the Wise One crying out in this way, they blamed the king When the ministers heard that all the folk of the city blamed the king, they said to him, 'Sire, do not do so, but set free the nun ' But the king was wroth

Now the Wise One left Ujjayini and went to the land of Sakas The princes there were called Sahis and their overlord the Sahansahi Kalakacarya remained at the court of one of the Sahis, and brought him under his power One day when the Sahi was talking with the Wise One, the doorkeepr announced the messenger of the Sahansahi He was brought in and gave the king a present, a sword sent by his master Thereat the Sahi's face darkened When the messenger had departed, the Wise One asked the Sahi why he was thus downcast at receiving a mark of favour from his master 'Honourable sir,' he replied, 'that was not a sign of favour, but of anger When he is wroth with us he sends a sword, and we must slay ourselves therewith, and since he is mighty, his commands must be obeyed ' The Wise One enquired, 'Is he angry only with thee, or with others also ?' The Sahi answered, 'He is angry also with the nintyfive other Sahis, since the sword bears the number 96 ' The Wise One said, 'If so, do not slay thyself Send a messenger to the other Sahis to say that we shall set out for Hindusthan '

So they did and came to Saurastra Kalakacarya urged them to capture Ujjayini as there they would find good living They said, 'With a good will, but we have no resources ' So the Wise One with magic powder changed all the potter's stuff to gold, and said, 'Take this for your needs '

When Gardhabhilla heard of the enemy's approach, he marched forth and met them on the borders of his country and joined battle He was defeated and his army dispersed He drew back into his city with the remnants of the army The victors laid siege, and made daily assaults One day they saw the fort empty The Wise One said, 'Today is the Eighth, when Gardhabhilla fasts and practises his ass-magic , go see if there be a she-ass anywhere upon the walls ' They saw that there was

one on the wall The Wise One said, 'When she makes a great outcry, on the accomplishment of Gardhabhilla's rites, immediately every creature two or four-footed in our army will fall to the ground with blood pouring from his mouth Withdraw, therefore, two miles from the walls but give me a hundred and eight accomplished bowmen ' So did they

The Wise One said, to the bowmen, 'When the ass opens her mouth to cry, stop her mouth with arrows before she utters a sound ' They stopped the ass's mouth with a hail of arrows, so that it could not utter any sound , and the magic beast fell dead outright After this they stormed the walls and entered Ujjayini Gardhabhilla was captured and banished Then the princes appointed him as Sahi whom the Wise One chose Since they were of the Saka race, they were called Sakas, and thus began the Saka dynasty

Kalaka in Pratisthana

Balamitra and Bhanumitra, nephews of Kalakacarya, were king and crown prince of Bhrigukaccha Their sister Bhanusri had a son named Balabhanu The two brothers hearing of their uncle's residence in Ujjavini sent an ambassador, with whom Kalakacarya returned In Bhrigukaccha he preached to his nephews, their sister and her son The latter was converted, and so too were many nobles and townspeople The household priest of Balamitra making objections, begging was forbidden Kalakacarya departed to Pratisthana where the pious king Salibahana (Satabahana) ruled

Salibahana was a devoted lay follower When he learned that the Suri was coming he came out to him with his retenue and brought him into the city with great pomp and settled him there In due course the *Paryuṣaṇa* season arrived There in the land of Maharastra on the fifth of the bright half of the month of Bhadrapada, a festival of Indra took place So the king made representation to the Suri to shift the date on the sixth Kalakacarya said that was impossible but it could be shifted on the fourth

The king said, 'If that is so, then let it come on the fourth

The king returned with joy and asked his wives to observe the new-moon fast so that at the time of breaking the fast afterwards they might give the monks breakfast

It was thus with reason that the master Kalaka transferred the *Paryuṣaṇa* to the fourth and the entire Congragation concurred , and

for that reason the *pākṣika* rites etc, were fixed for the fourteenth, otherwise directed by the Scripture to be on the full-moon day

Story of Salibhadra

The saintly youth Samgama, son of the poor widow Dhanya, grew up in the village of Saligrama in Magadha One day he asked his mother for a dish of sweet rice-milk She could not afford to buy the materials, but her neighbours made her a present of them, and Dhanya gave the dish of rice-milk to her son Just then a great ascetic, about to break a month's fast, arrived Samgama, with profound devotion, handed his dish of rice-milk , and received the blessing of the ascetic He was reborn as Salibhadra, the son of the merchant prince Gobhadra and his wife Bhadra, in the city of Rajagriha When grown up, Gobhadra married his son to thirty-two beautiful women and proposed to retire from the world Meanwhile Mahavira arrived and Gobhadra took his vows at the Lord's hands Subsequently he died by fasting and was reborn as a god Thence he descended to visit his son and bestowed upon him rare treasures

Merchants now came from abroad with rare and magnificent shawls which they offered to king Srenika He, however, thought that he could not afford to purchase them Salibhadra's mother then bought the eight shawls, cut each into four pieces and presented them to Salibhadra's wives, who in turn placed them at his feet Cellana, king Srenika's queen, hearing of the shawls, begged him to take the shawls from the merchants by force He found that Salibhadra's mother had secured them and repenting of his previous parsimony, offered to buy them from her She, however, could do nothing as she had already given away the shawls The king's messenger reported these matters to the king, who wondered what sort of man this wealthy Salibhadra must be The king sent his messenger to invite Salibhadra to visit him But Bhadra instead invited the king to visit Salibhadra He agreed and was received in state The occasion of the king's visit was the means of Salibhadra's enlightenment for he reflected he was not his own master

Bhadra prepared a great shampoo for the king As he was being rinsed his signet ring fell into the water, and was lost, but when the water was poured away, it was discovered in the jewelled bath, where, however, its glory was dimmed by the splendour of its surroundings The king was somewhat cast down by this but recognised

Salibhadra's spiritual superiority He returned to his palace Salibhadra now proposed to abandon the household life Bhadra endeavoured to dissuade him, but the only compromise he would make was to abandon his wives one by one on successive days

In the same city lived Salibhadra's sister subhadra, whose husband was called Dhanya She told him in tears that Salibhadra was daily abandoning his wives Dhanya remarked that such a gradual process of renunciation was far from admirable Dhanya's seven other wives protested against this criticism on Dhanya's part, as he was making no renunciation whatever himself On hearing this he renounced the world then and there

Salibhadra heard of this and followed his footsteps Dhanya and Salibhadra received ordination from the hands of Mahavira

Dhanya and Salibhadra entered upon a life of severe asceticism At the end of twelve years they returned to Rajagrha in the following of Mahavira They were about to break a month's fast and visited Bhadra's palace But Bhadra failed to recognise them in their changed guise They received food from a woman named Mathataharika who had in the former birth been Salibhadra's mother in Saligrama

Salibhadra and Dhanya now determined to pursue their path to the end, practised more severe asceticism, and attained to death by starvation They were reborn in the Sarvarthasiddha heaven where they enjoyed the highest bliss

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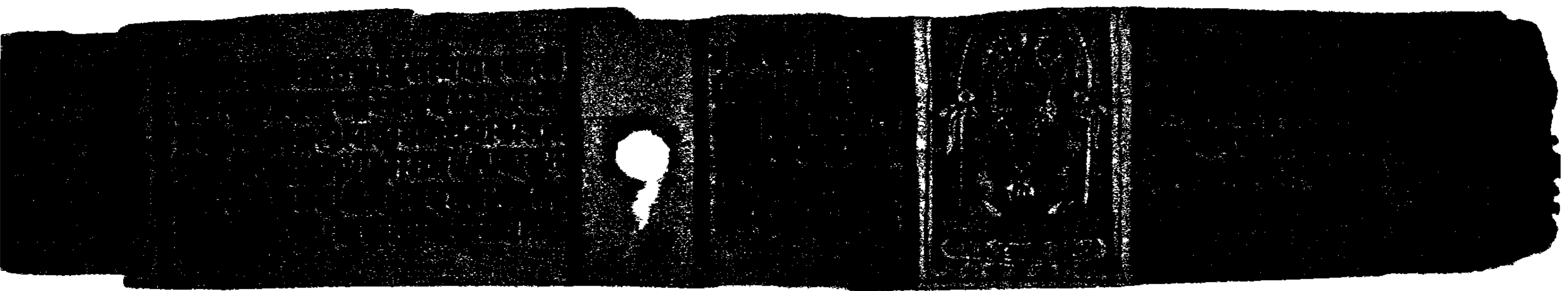


FIG 1

J P Goenka Collection

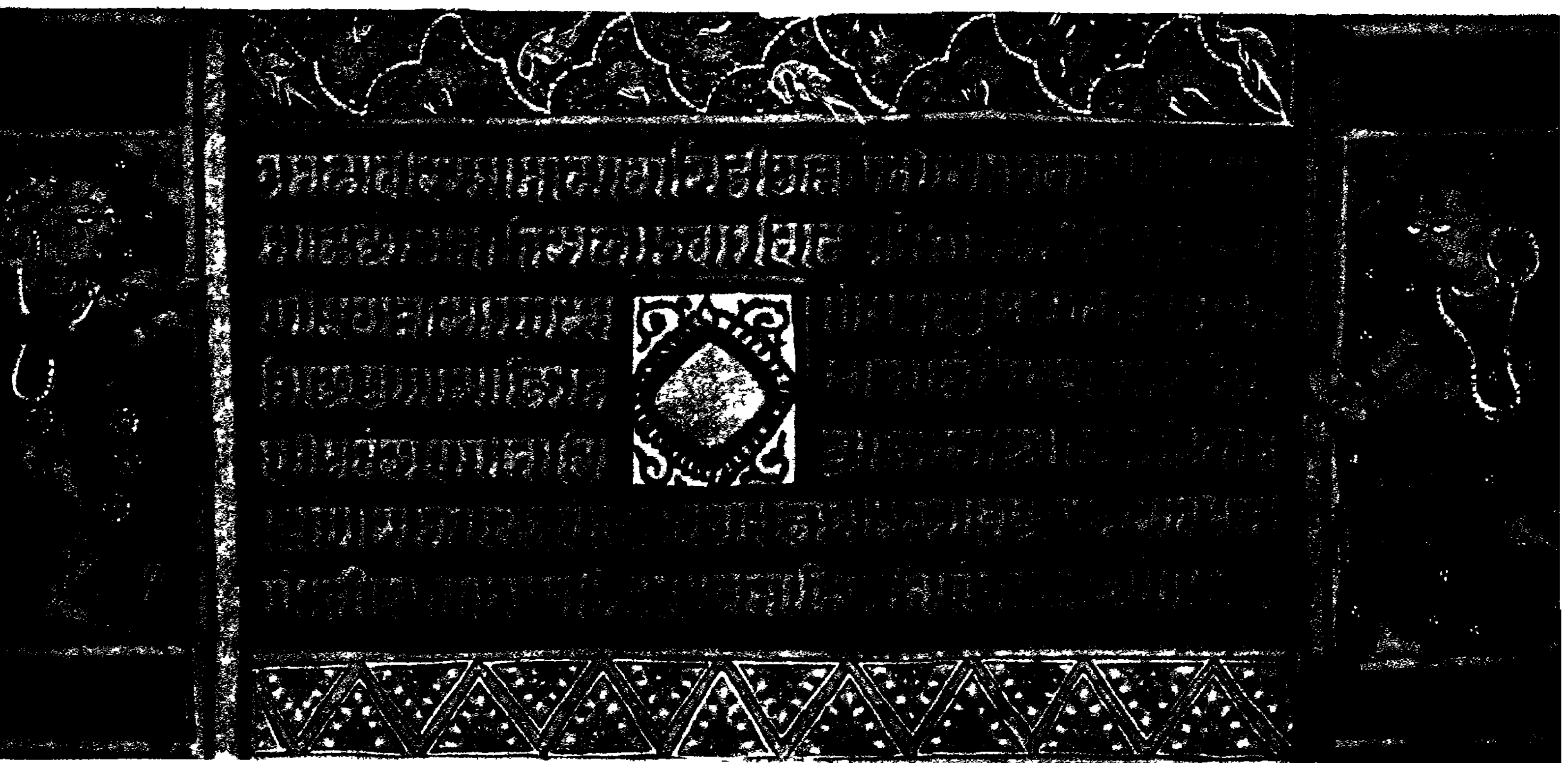
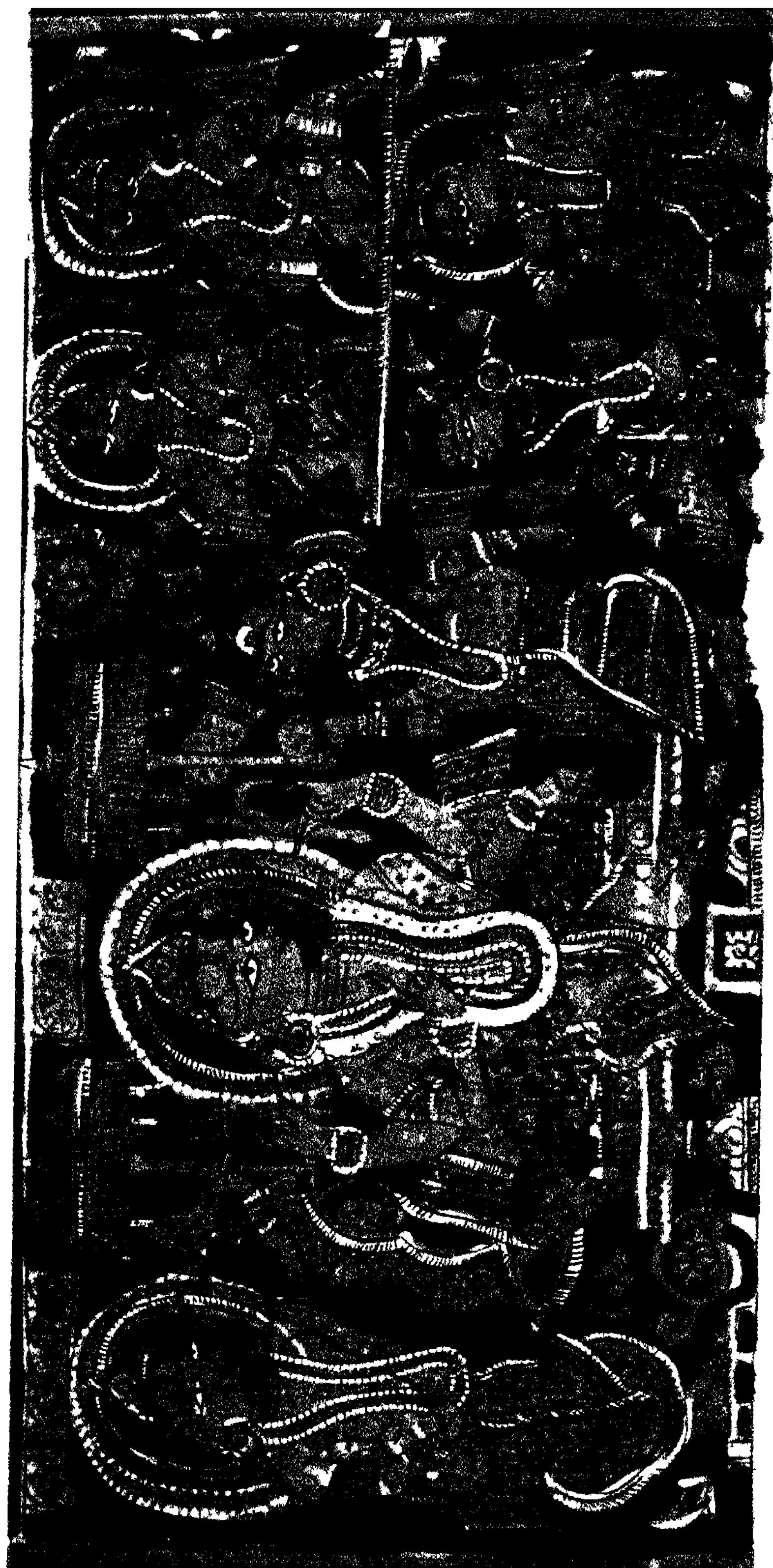
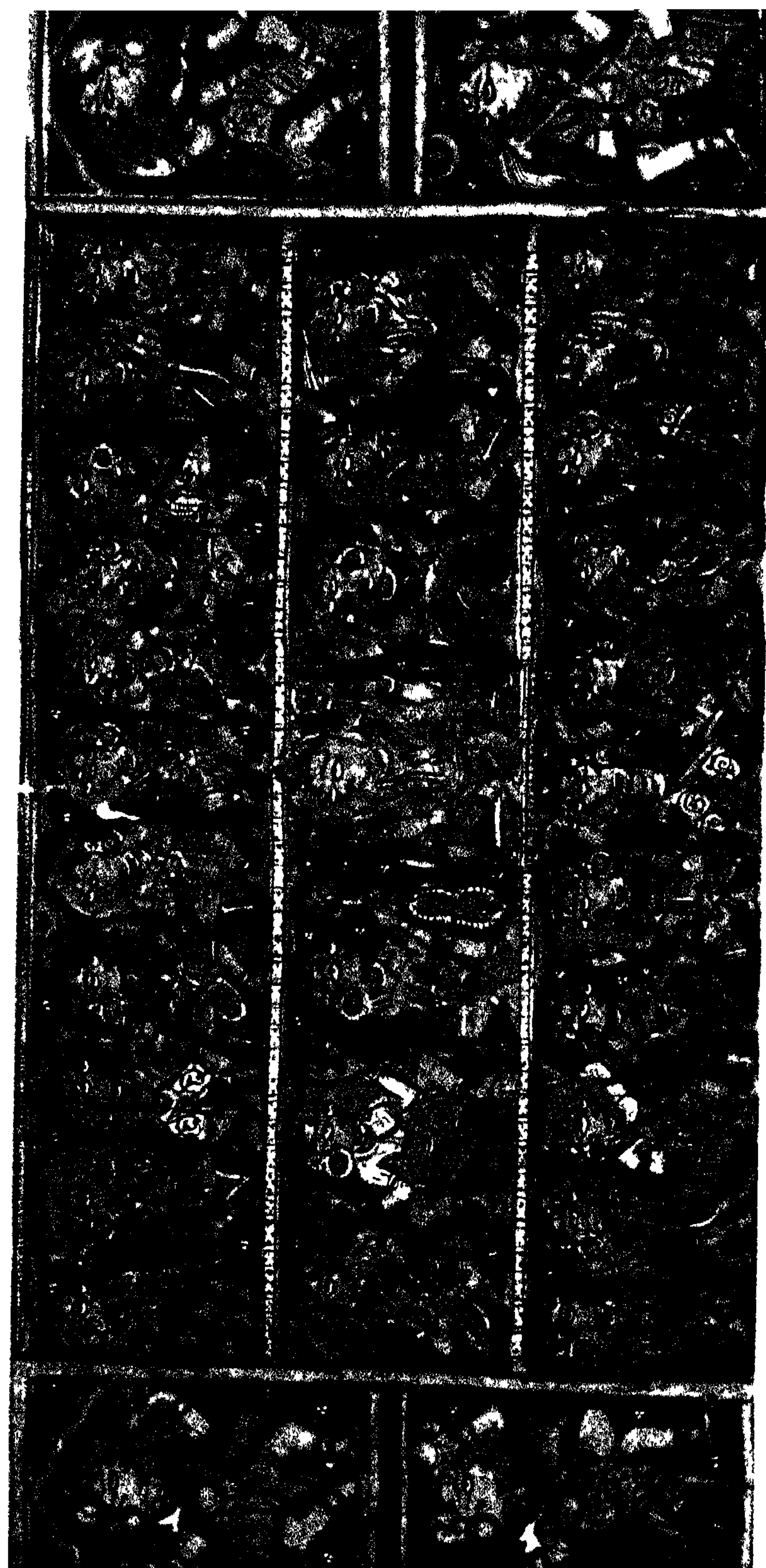


Fig. 2

J. P. Goenka Collection







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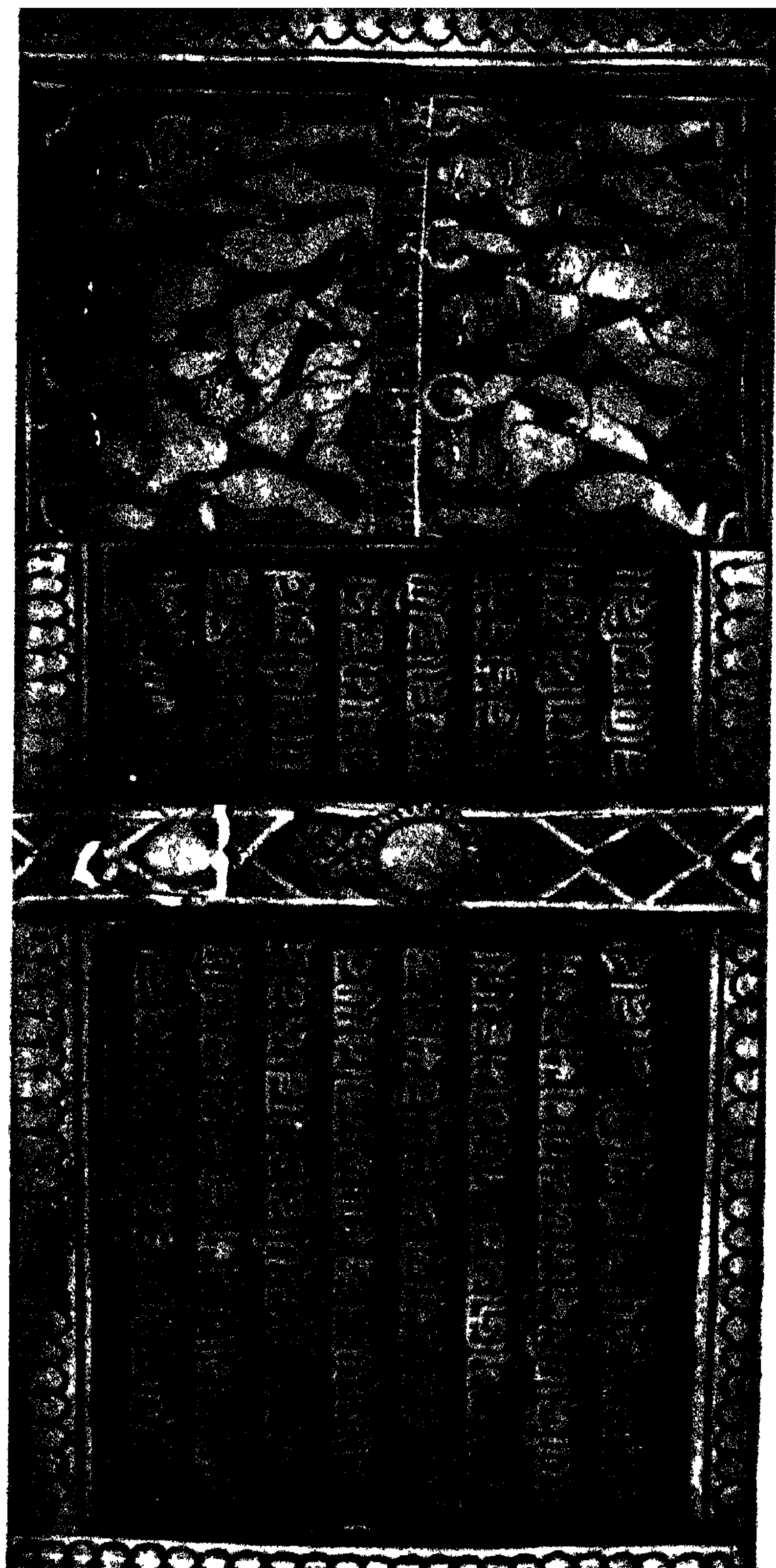




Fig 10



Fig 11

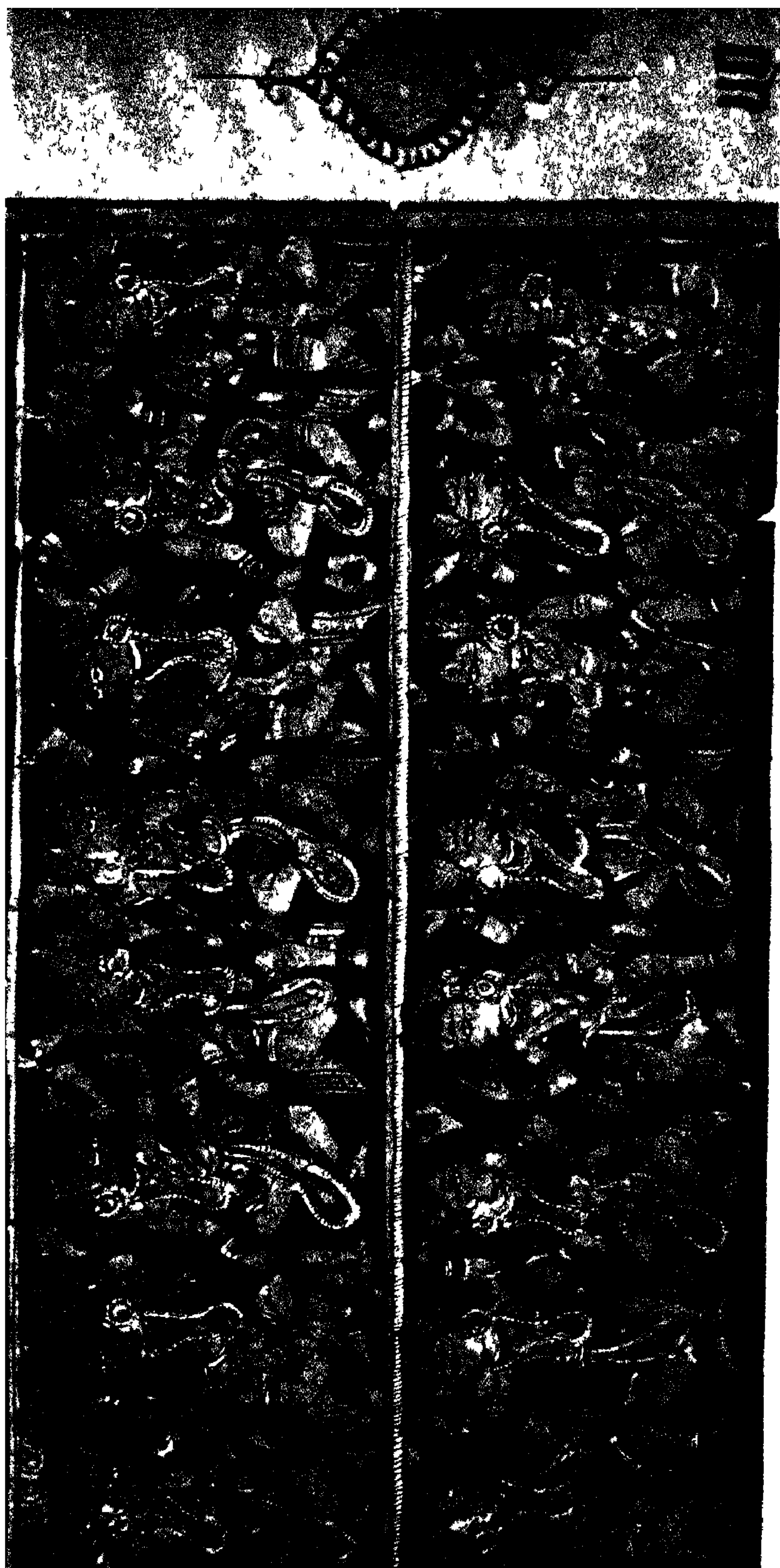






Fig 15



Fig 16

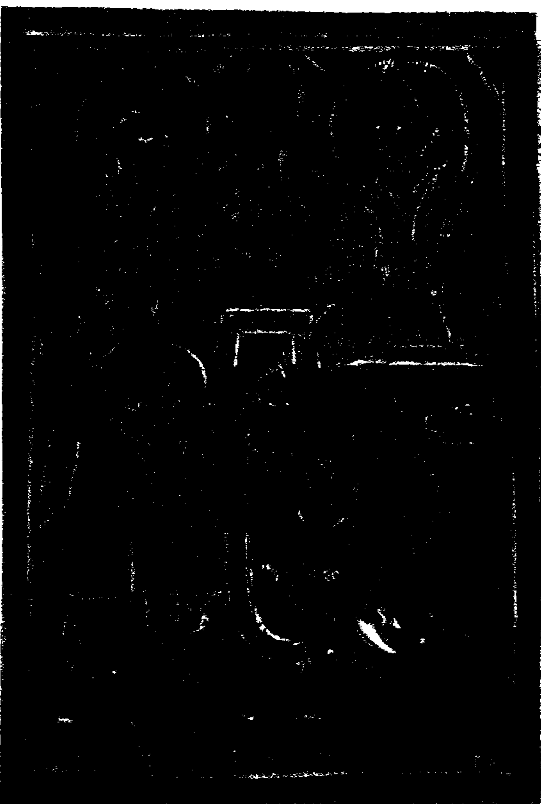


Fig 17

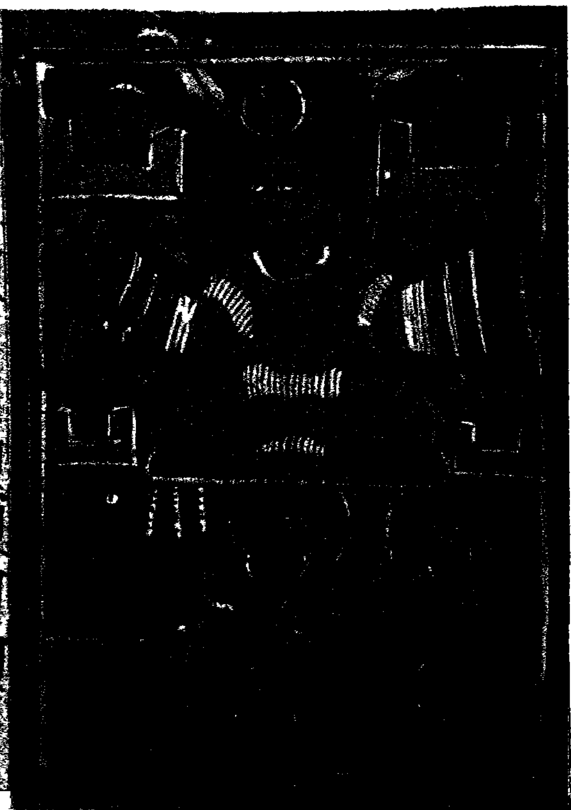


Fig 18

B S Nahar Collection



Fig 19



Fig 20



Fig. 21

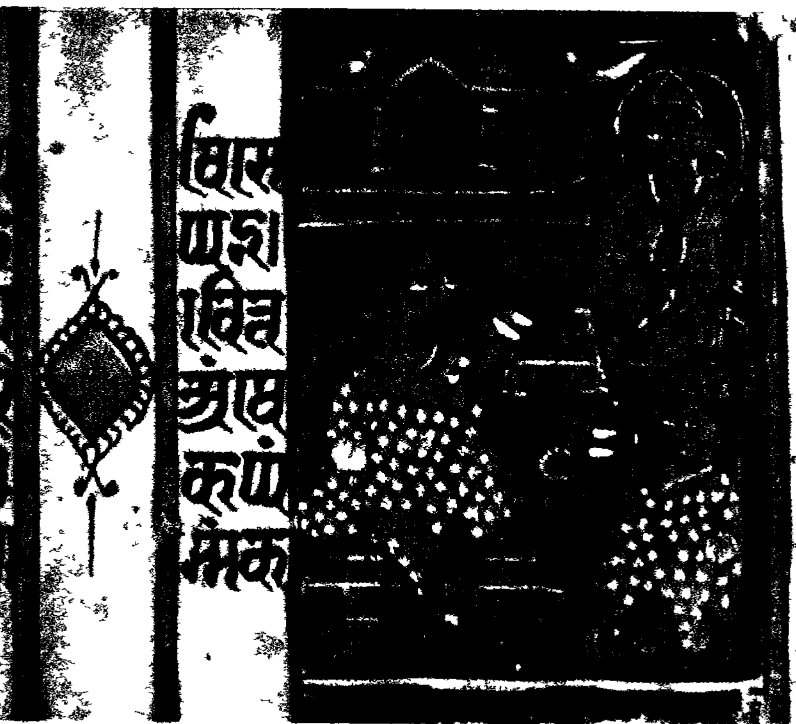


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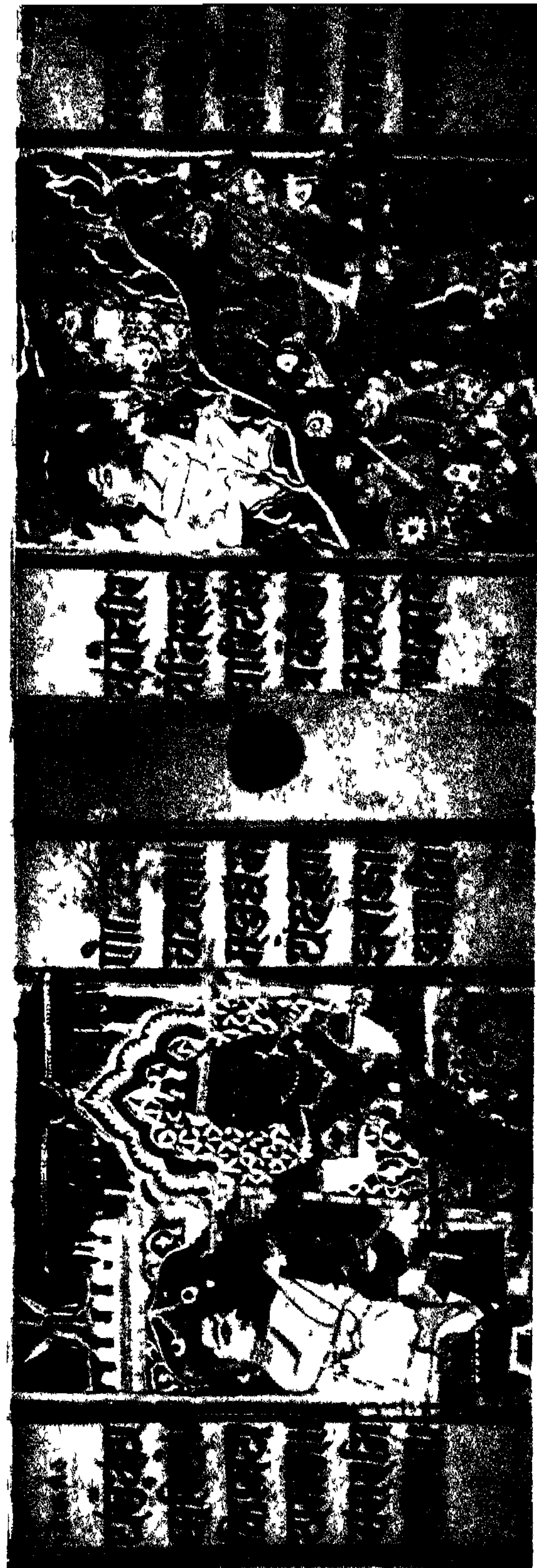
FIG. 22



FIG 24



FIG 25



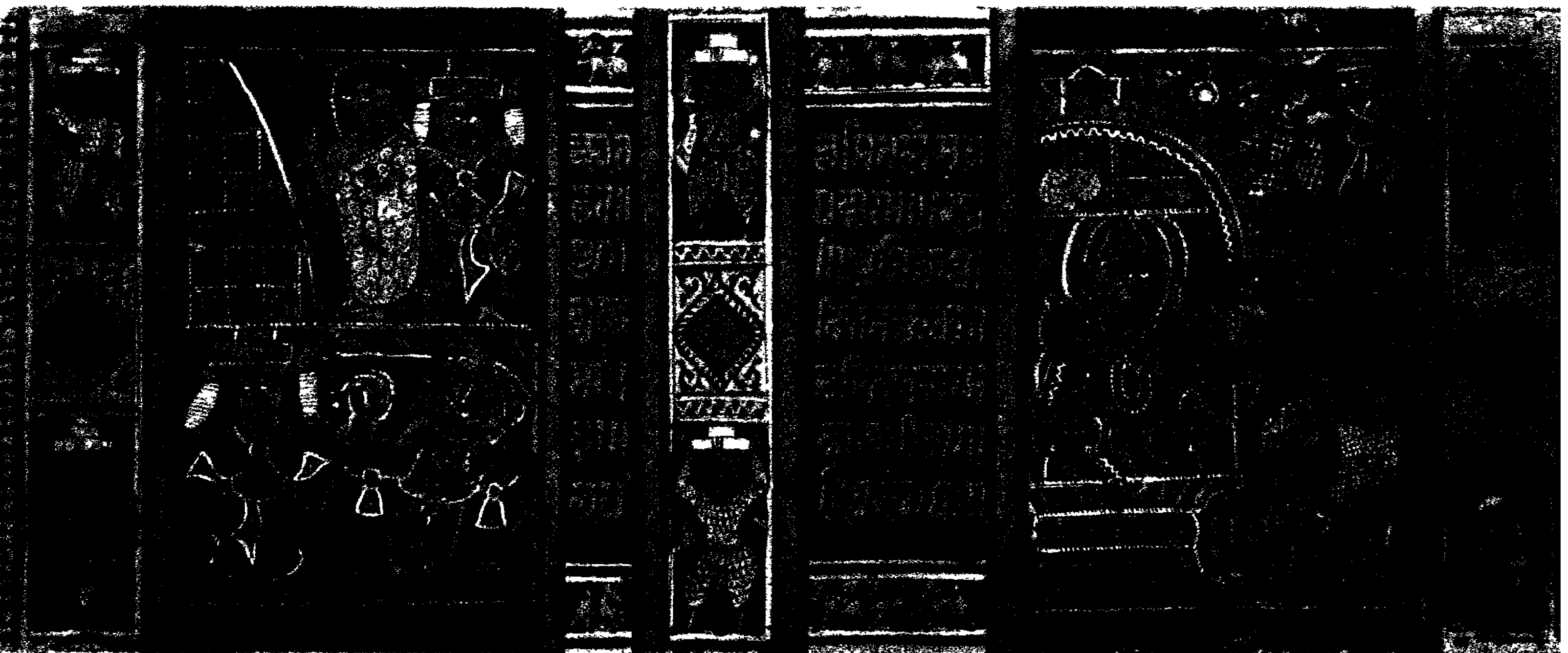


FIG. 28

FIG. 29

B. S. Nawab Collection

Fig. 30

Fig. 31



FIG 32

B S Nahar Collection



Fig. 33

B. S. Nahar Collection

Notes Illustrating Paintings

Fig 1 *Lord Parsvanatha, the twentythird Tirthankara*
Palm-leaf, 1150 A D
Lord Parsvanatha with his usual seven-fold serpent hood

Fig 2 *A page from Kalpa Sūtra*
Kalpa Sūtra folio from Devasano Pado Bhandar, c 1475 A D
Brilliant text written in gold and decorated with dancing *apsarās*

Fig 3 *Sakra enjoying divine pleasures*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c 1550 A D
Sakra is seated on a throne of honour, over him is honorific parasol He has four arms, with *ankuśa* and *vajra* as usual Behind him stands a male attendant with a fly-whisk Before him stands a girl holding some offering (or another parasol) At the right there are four figures in two registers In the upper register there are two males representing the entire court In the lower a female dancer and a drum-player

Fig 4 *Sakra on throne with thirtytwo dancing figures*
Kalpa Sūtra folio from Devasano Pado Bhandar, c 1475 A D
In the centre, Sakra is seated in *bhadrāsana* Round and behind him in all the three panels and on both the margins are represented thirtytwo dancers in different poses

Fig 5 *Sakra commands Harinaigamesi to transfer the embryo*
Kalpa Sutra folio, c 1550 A D
At the left is Sakra seated on his throne Facing him at the right, is Harinaigamesi, with hands in a gesture of obedience

Fig 6 *Vajra in his cradle nursed by a nun*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c 1550 A D
The layman Dhanagiri having vowed to leave the world did so as soon as his son was born The child, shortly after being born, overheard the conversation of some women attending his mother at her lying in and learned that his father had become a monk Desiring to share his father's life, the child determined to tire out his mother's patience by his bad behavior, and no device could appease him About that time

the father Dhanagiri came there with his spiritual preceptor, who allowed Dhanagiri to go to visit his former family and told him to accept whatever was offered him When Dhanagiri arrived, the mother, at the instigation of some relatives, extended to him the child Dhanagiri accepted it and left The child was preternaturally heavy to carry and therefore received the name Vajra (thunderbolt) Dhanagiri handed it over to his guru who in turn handed it over to the nuns, and these last entrusted it to women at their lodging house The boy then became a perfectly behaved child The mother, seeing the change wanted the child back, but the women refused to surrender it However, they allowed her to come to the house and nurse it Once again when the child was three years old, she claimed it Dhanagiri would not surrender it The case was referred to the King and he said the child should go with whichever one it would heed The mother tried first and offered it playthings but the child ignored them Then the father told him to take up the broom if it wished to become a monk and Vajra took it

Vajra is seen here in a swinging cradle attended by a nun The subject of this episode comes in *Sthavirāvali* and not in *Jinacaritra* It appears that folios are wrongly pasted

Fig 7 *Harinaigamesi removes the embryo from Devananda's womb*
Kalpa Sutra folio, c 1500 A D
Devananda is lying on her bed At the right is Harinaigamesi leaving with the embryo

Fig 8 *Trisala and the fourteen lucky dreams*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c 1500 A D
At the bottom of the scene Trisala lies on her couch Above her the fourteen dreams appear in three registers (1) an elephant (2) a bull, (3) a lion, (4) goddess Sri, (5), garlands, (6) the moon, (7) the sun, (8) the banner, (9) jar, (10) lotus lake, (11) ocean of milk (12) the celestial palace, (13) the jewel heap and (14) smokeless fire

Fig 9 *Siddhartha at his gymnastic exercise*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c 1500 A D
Both in the upper and lower registers Siddhartha is represented with objects on his hand that resembles boxing gloves

Fig 10 *The interpreters of the dreams*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c 1500 A D
Four greybeard interpreters appear in two registers Three hold books or rolls and two are dipping pens into ink-pots

Fig 11 *Birth of Mahavira*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c 1600 A D
Trisala lies upon her bed, the babe Mahavira held in her right arm A maid is standing behind

Fig 12 *Celebration of Mahavira's birth festival*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c 1550 A D
Music, dance and gaity all around

Fig 13 *Youthful Mahavira and the jealous god*
Kalpa Sūtra folio from Devasano Pado Bhandar, c 1475 A D
The story does not occur in *Kalpa Sutra* It is related by Hemacandra When Mahavira was not yet eight years old he used to play games becoming his age One day Sakra praised Mahavira s steadfastness in his court One of the gods did not liked it and came down to earth to test his courage The god assumed the form of a serpent and appeared at the foot of a tree where Mahavira and his companions were playing All the other boys fled in terror but Mahavira picked up the serpent as though it were a rope and threw it to the ground The other boys then came back and resumed the play The god also took the form of a boy and began to play with them At this time the boys were climbing a tree Mahavira got to the top first The wager had been that the winner should mount the back of the vanquished and ride them about He therefore got on the back of the other boys, he mounted the back even of the god Then the god with wicked intent took the form of a terrifying demon and began to increase in size He had not even stopped growing when the Lord struck him on the back with his fist and that blow reduced him to a dwarf The god now took his usual form and acknowledging his mistake returned to his residence

The painting shows at the right top Mahavira carrying a long stick In front of him around a tree is coiled a snake (the god in disguise) Right bottom is a companion of Mahavira At the left is the god with Mahavira on his shoulder

Fig 14 *Mahavira plucks out his hair*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c 1400 A D
Under *Aśoka* tree is Mahavira, dressed only in a lower garment As he plucks out his hair, Sakra catches it He is on a seat, so too is Mahavira Below are mountain peaks in exaggerated conformity with the statement that the palanquin carrying Mahavira stopped on slightly raised ground At the top are clouds

Fig 15 *Mahavira's austerities*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c 1500 A D
The various specific episodes of his austerities illustrated in the paintings are found in Hemacandra's version These are assault of the cowherd, austerities in the country of Ladha, attack by the serpent Candakausika, Sangamaka's attacks upon Mahavira, etc The story chiefly illustrated in this painting is that of Mahavira and the cowherd who drove the spikes in his ears Other is that of Sangamaka's attack

Sangamaka on hearing Sakra praise Mahavira for fortitude in meditation, set out to interrupt it and attacked him with dust, storm, ants, gnats, etc , finally he showed beautiful women The trials lasted six months but Mahavira stood unheeding

The story of the cowherd is as follows A cowherd let his bulls loose outside the village while he went to milk the cows The bulls wandered away The cowherd came seeking the bulls and chanced upon Mahavira He asked if he had seen the bull but Mahavira was too deeply absorbed in meditation to hear him He asked again and when Mahavira still did not reply the cowherd in a blind fury took two spikes and drove them into his ears until they met inside his head Then he cut off the protruding ends that no one might see them and draw them out, and left

When Mahavira had finished his meditation he went to a near by village and entered the house of a merchant named Siddhartha to break his fast A physician named Kharaka was there who by his unusual insight understood what had happened While the two were discussing the matter, Mahavira went outside the village Siddhartha and Kharaka hastened after him with medical appurtenances They bathed Mahavira with a vessel of oil and had powerful shampooers rub him

Under the shampooing Mahavira's joints were all loosened and with them the spikes fell apart inside his head and out they dropped from his earholes with blood The pain was so great that Mahavira emitted a mighty cry

In the painting Mahavira is standing between two trees, which represent the forests where the various events took place The lion and the bird are some of the trials inflicted by Sangamaka Two male figures stand beside Mahavira, one in the left being the physician Kharaka who is ladling oil out of a receptacle, the other, in an attitude of reverence presumably being Siddhartha

Fig 16 *Mahavira's Samavasarana*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c 1500 A D
When a *Tirthankara* obtains *kevala*-knowledge, the gods prepare his *samavasarana* The earth is cleansed for a space *yojana* around, scented and ornamented Three walls are erected, the innermost of jewels, the middle of gold, and the outermost of silver There are four jewelled gates to each wall In the centre is a pedestal with a tree and under the tree are four lion thrones The throne on the east is occupied by the *Jina*, the three others by reproductions of him There he preaches to gods, men birds and beasts In the painting Mahavira sits within the *Samavasarana* with two *yaksas* as attendants He is not in monk's garment but is ornemented as a perfected being (*siddha*)

Fig 17 *Parsva sporting with his wife Prabhavati, Parsva going to see the five-fire penance of Kamatha*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c 1500 A D
In the upper register Prince Parsva is seen sporting with his wife Prabhavati on a terrace from where he sees men and women of the city going outside in haste Being told where they are going, he also leaves with his retinue to see the show In the lower register Prince Parsva is seen on the back of an elephant

Fig 18 *Kamatha performing the five-fire penance, Parsva rescuing the snakes*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c 1500 A D
In the upper register sits Kamatha amid the five fires, the four wood fires flame about him, the sun, the fifth, is above

his head His costume differs from that of a Jaina monk In the lower register is Prince Parsva In front of him stands a servant holding an axe, with which, at Parsva's command, he has split the wood At the extreme left is the log itself from which emerges the serpent

Fig 19 *Aristanemi blows Krisna's conch, Krisna tries to bend Aristanemi's arm*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, 1520 A D
In the upper register, at the left, the conch is on its throne, and at the right, Nemi blowing it This alarms Krisna He challenges Nemi to a test of strength in a fist fight Nemi then extends his arm saying to Krisna that if he can bend down the arm he will be considered the victor Krisna tries but fails In the lower register Nemi stands with his left arm outstretched Below the arm is Krisna, four-armed trying with two of his arms to bend down Nemi's arm From top to bottom on the right are *cakra* (discus), *sankha* (conch), *gadā* (mace) and Padma (lotus) all attributes of Visnu, hence of Krisna

Fig 20 *Krisna and his wives urge Aristanemi to marry*
Kalpa Sutra folio, c 1600 A D
The painting shows a bathing ghat with two men standing on steps that lead down into the water The one at the left is Nemi Krisna faces him Krisna is trying to convince him while Nemi is counter-arguing Behind them on the top steps stands a female

Fig 21 *Aristanemi riding to the bridal pavilion, Aristanemi decides to leave the world*
Kalpa Sūtra folio c 1550 A D
At the extreme left, in a pavilion is Rajimati Coming towards the pavalion is the elephant, intricately adorned and painted bearing richly embroidered trappings Two persons sit on its back The first is Nemi Behind him is a fly-whisk bearer Behind the elephant are two horsemen representing the entire procession At the bottom, on the left, is the pen containing beasts for banquet In the centre is Nemi, first on the ground, then in a chariot, next deserting the bride, as his charioteer urges on the horses Vegetation and flower scrolls appear in between the legs of elephant and horses to fill in the composition

Fig 22 *Risabha invents pottery*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c 1550 A D
The early citizens suffered from indigestion because they ate their food raw Risabha invented a pot (*kumbha*) for them to cook in moulding the first piece over the boss (*kumbha*) In the painting Risabha sits upon his elephant which is fully decorated and has its trunk upraised, on its trunk is the first vessel which he has just moulded on the boss of the elephant's forehead

Fig 23 *A Jaina monk preaching to his disciples*
Kalpa Sutra folio, c 1550 A D
On the left is the monk Before him is *sthāpana* or representation of his *Guru* At the right top is a lay disciple and at the bottom a monk disciple with folded hands This piece also seems to be wrongly pasted as the episode is not from *Jinacaritra*

Fig 24 *Marudevi's omniscience*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c 1600 A D
Risabha's mother, Marudevi grieved by the separation from her son and the contemplation of his sufferings as an ascetic, wept herself blind When Risabha had come into his *samavasarana*, his son Bharata went to inform Marudevi and took her on an elephant to see Risabha At the sight her blindness vanished, washed away with tears of joy She attained to omniscience on the spot and immediately died, thus achieving salvation, the first person in this *avasarpini* to do so Her funeral rites were the first in the world and became a model for the future

In the painting Risabha is seated at the left in a spired shrine At the right is Marudevi on an elephant come to worship him, holding an offering in her two hand s Above the upraised trunk of the elephant is a water pitcher

Fig 25 *Sthulabhadra as a lion in a cave with his sisters, Sthulabhadra's sisters with Bhadrabahu (or Sthulabhadra)*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c 1500 A D
Before conversion Sthulabhadra had lived in Pataliputra for twelve years with a courtesan named Kosa After his conversion, he once undertook as a penace, during the four months of the rainy season when monks must not wander

about, to live in the house of his former mistress Despite her seductions he maintained his vows, although another monk who later undertook to imitate him was easily led astray

A twelve year famine now came upon the land of Magadha During this period of confusion the Jaina canon was in danger of being lost When the famine was over, the Sangha reassembled in Pataliputra and collected as much of the canon as the monks happened to remember, being the eleven *Angas* To recover the twelfth *Anga, Dṛṣṭivāda,* the monks sent two of their numbers to Bhadrabahu, who was then in Nepal commanding him to join the council at Pataliputra and impart this *Anga* Bhadrabahu could not come because he was engaged in a vow that would require 12 years of austerity Eventually the Sangha sent to him 500 monks headed by Sthulabhadra to learn the *Dṛṣṭivāda* All but Sthulabhadra became discouraged by the slowness of their progress

Sthulabhadra s seven sisters, who had become nuns, went to pay their respects to Bhadrabahu and asked him where to find their brother Bhadrabahu directed them to the cave When the seven sisters approached, Sthulabhadra thought to gratify them with a miracle and transformed himself into a lion They ran back to Bhadrabahu in fright reporting that a lion had devoured Sthulabhadra Bhadrabahu told them the truth and they returned They told Sthulabhadra their various adventures When his sisters had left him Sthulabhadra went to Bhadrabahu to continue his lessons But Bhadrabahu declared that Sthulabhadra performing a miracle had shown himself an unworthy receptacle of the holy knowledge

In the upper register is Sthulabhadra as a lion Before him stand two nuns who typify all seven sisters The lower register represents either the seven sisters asking Bhadrabahu where to find Sthulabhadra or, the sisters telling their adventures to Sthulabhadra

Fig 26 *Kalaka riding his horse, Kalaka hears Gunakara preach*
Kālakācāryakathā folio Sultanate style, c 1400 A D
In the lower register Kalaka rides on his horseback attended by his three followers In the upper register Gunakara preaches in the mango-grove to the prince Kalaka

Fig 27 *Kalaka and the Sahi*
Kālakācāryakathā folio Sultanate style, c 1400 A D
At the right on lion-throne sits the Sahi dressed in an elaborately ornamented costume His face is shown almost from the full front without the protruding eye, and the face itself has a Mongolian cast Before him sits Kalaka also in an architectural setting Two honorific parasols appear at the top of the picture Above Kalaka is a cluster of military standards In between them is the messenger who has come from the Sahi's overlord, bringing the sword with which the Sahi is to cut off his own head and the bowl in which he is to send it to the overlord

Fig 28 *Kalaka converts the bricks to gold*
Kālakācāryakathā folio, c 1400 A D
In the upper register is Kalaka standing before the flaming brick kiln, his right hand outstretched to sprinkle upon it the magic powder that converts the bricks to gold Behind him is a Saka with Mongolian face, carrying away two bricks on his head In the lower register is the Sahi seated on his horse waching another Saka carry away two bricks The armour of the Sahi consists of a long coat of linked mail

Fig 29 *The siege of Ujjayini and defeat of she-ass magic*
Kālakācāryakathā folio, c 1400 A D
The city wall of Ujjayini appears with a towered gate Gardhabhilla sits within weaving his spells and the she-ass magic appears before him standing upon one of the towers Its mouth is wide open to bray Above king Gardhabhilla is the captive nun Sarasvati, who observes a fast Outside the city wall are the besiegers, three Saka bowmen on foot with drawn bows and Kalaka on horseback, also with drawn bow

Fig 30 *King of Pratisthana with his family*
Kālakācāryakathā folio Sultanate style, c 1400 A D
King Salibahana of Pratisthana was a devoted lay follower Here he is seen with his family Lower register depicts horses and elephants with an attendant

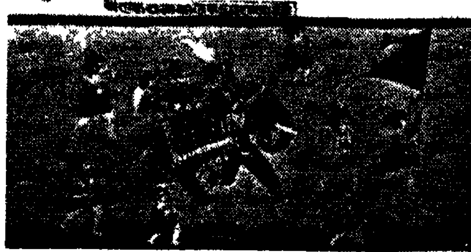
Fig 31 *Salibahana asks his wives to observe new-moon fast*
Kālakācāryakathā folio Sultanate style, c 1400 A D
Salibahana is seated on the throne In front of him is his chief queen Other queens are on the upper register

Fig 32 *Marriage of Salibhadra*
Sālibhadra Mahāmuni Coupāi, 1826 V S (1769 A D)
Bride and bridegroom are seated in the centre with thirtyone other brides in the right A music party is in the extreme left

Fig 33 *Lord Risabhanatha, the first Tirthankara*
Vijñaptipatra, 1866 V S (1809 A D)
This Letter of Solicitations was sent by the Jaina Community of Merta to Sri Vijayajinendra Suri of Bhavnagar to come and visit their city

A portion from an illustrated roll depicting many scenes

Cover *A Tīrthankara, presumably Lord Padmaprabha*
Palm-leaf Manuscript of *Nisitha Cūrni*, Santinath Temple Bhandr, 1127 A D



STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP

The following is a statement of ownership and other particulars about *Jain Journal* as required under Rule 8 of the Registration of Newspapers (Central) Rules 1956

FORM IV

1 PLACE OF PUBLICATION
Jain Bhawan
P-25 Kalakar Street, Calcutta 7

2 PERIODICITY OF ITS PUBLICATION
Quarterly

3 PRINTER'S NAME, NATIONALITY AND ADDRESS
Moti Chand Bhura, Indian
P-25 Kalakar Street, Calcutta 7

4 PUBLISHER'S NAME, NATIONALITY AND ADDRESS
Moti Chand Bhura, Indian
P-25 Kalakar Street Calcutta 7

5 EDITOR'S NAME, NATIONALITY AND ADDRESS
Ganesh Lalwani, Indian
P-25 Kalakar Street, Calcutta 7

6 NAME AND ADDRESS OF THE OWNER
Jain Bhawan
P-25 Kalakar Street, Calcutta 7

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April 15, 1970

Cows are of many different forms and colours ,

There milk is always white

The Path of virtue, like milk, is one ,

The sects that teach it are manifold

—Nāladiyār



JAICHAND

Empty is penance
for the sake of fame
though performed
by men of noble birth,
but meritorious is that
of which nobody knows

—LORD MAHAVIRA



CHAMPALALL

a quarterly on Jainology

Jain Journal



जैन भवन

JAIN BHAWAN

CALCUTTA

VOL IV NOS. 1-4

May 1969 — April 1970

Published by Moti Chand Bhura on behalf of Jain Bhawan from P-25 Kalakar Street and printed by him at The Technical & General Press, 17 Crooked Lane, Calcutta 1

Editor Ganesh Lalwani

INDEX

(Numbers in heavy type refer to issues, numbers in parenthesis to pages)

Registered with the Registrar
of Newspapers for India
under No R N 12121/66.